Diplomacy in the War of the Spanish Succession 1702-1714

JEAN CLAUDE CASTEX



This book is dedicated to all the unfortunate young Germans sold to England over the centuries by the Princes of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire, who shed their blood to build the British Empire.

DIPLOMACY IN THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION
1702-1714

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Cover: Philip V de Bourbon painted by Hyacinthe Rigaud. Philippe V, known as *el Animoso* in Spanish, that is to say "the Brave", born on December 19th, 1683, in Versailles and died on July 9th, 1746, in Madrid, was King of Spain and India on the death of Charles Habsburg.

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Background

On December 31st, 1700, the XVII Century was finally on the verge of giving up his soul after a hundred years of religious wars, cruel, atrocious, ruthless. The Christians of Europe had tortured themselves in the name of God and passionately killed. Sectarian conflicts had succeeded one another with desperate regularity: Thirty Years War, civil wars of religion in England and Ireland, *Guerre de Religions* wars in France, and finally, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the War of the Augsburg League[1]. Nations had torn each other apart with fury in Germany, France, England, and elsewhere. *O tempora o mores*[2]*!*

The Century that was coming to an end in Canada had been no less trying. Canadians had written with their blood the most beautiful pages of the History of France in seventy war actions[3]. By winter or summer raids, covering unimaginable distances on snowshoes, in Siberian colds, they had expelled their enemies from Hudson Bay and Newfoundland[4]. These eternal wars against the English had made French Canadians a warrior people, as combative —it has been said— as the Trojans of Antiquity[5]. That was necessary because their distant Motherland only

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[1] To which had been added the wars of the Fronde in France, the three Anglo-Dutch wars, the War of Devolution, the War of Holland…

[2] O times, O morals ! as exclaimed famous character.

[3] During the Thirty Years' War and the League of Augsburg, in New France only.

[4] Territories that Louis XIV will return to England with a simple stroke of a pen in 1714.

[5] Quebec has sometimes been nicknamed *the Troy of America*. Quebec historian René Boulanger in Action Nationale, Revue mensuelle d'avril 2007, writes "La Nouvelle-France was a military society which, despite its small population, mobilized in much greater proportions than the Thirteen Colonies and France itself."

brought them derisory help. The French of New-France were returning blows to the English of New England, whose largest fur trader (the mayor of Albany, the colonel Peter Schuyler) encouraged the Iroquois Indians to come and harass Canada and Acadia. In addition to this aspect of inter-religious warfare between two factions of the same Christian religion, this destructive conflict was actually just a *trade war* because Peter Schuyler was an essential competitor of the French in his trade with the Indians.

In April 1691, an Indian raid against *Pointe-aux-Trembles*[6] turned out detrimental to the Iroquois who were captured, tried as simple marauding robbers, condemned to death, and executed by the Justice of New France. The result of the latter event was that the Iroquois refused to launch new raids against New-France unless the English joined them in person. Peter Schuyler was caught on his own trap. He wanted to arm the Indians but refused to take personal risks. In July 1691, as a result of this Iroquois decision which put the English credibility in doubt, an essential expedition including some 1400 regular and Indian warriors advanced towards Canada to Rivière-au-Bois[7] There, the English hesitated, stopped, then, claiming that other Indian reinforcements did not arrive, turned back and went home. In August 1691, to repair the decline in prestige in the eyes of the Iroquois after the failure of July, Colonel Peter Schuyler, at the head of a commando of 150 English volunteers and 300 Iroquois, launched a raid against Montreal; but at La Prairie they encountered a troop of Canadians who routed them. Schuyler gave up his

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[6] In which 30 Canadian houses were burnt.

[7] Today *Whitehall*, New York.

troop to flee faster. Most of his men were killed or captured. Faced with such behaviour, Indian tribes showed their willingness to make peace with the French.

At the end of the sixteenth Century, therefore, a great event was being prepared in Montreal. Thirty-nine Northeastern Indian Nations from Northeast and Mid-West had been invited to Montreal by Callières[8] for signing with France, on August 4th, 1701, *the Great Peace of Montréal*. On July 21st, 1701, a flotilla of 200 Iroquois canoes appeared in front of Montreal: representatives of the Nations Onneyouts, Onontagués, Goyogouins and Tsonnontouans. The delegations of the Agniers Nations arrived a little later. The next day July 22nd, 700 or 800 Allied Indians arrived: the Ottawa, Saulteux, Algonquins from the North of the Great Lakes and the Miamis, Illinois, Renards, Mascoutens, Folles-Avoines who came from countries as far away as western Lake Michigan. The French presence had then gained these regions inhabited by various Illinois groups, including the Péorias, Monisgouenars, Tapouarouas and Kouéras. Some of the delegates from Indian Nations had crossed up to 1500 kilometres in canoes, cut off from dozens of exhausting portages! These came mainly from the Great Lakes region, called *les Pays-d'en-Haut*[9] by the French population of the Saint-Laurent Valley. More than 1200 Indians belonging to 39 Nations were

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[8] Louis Hector de Callière or Callières, Knight, a captain in France, Governor of Montreal, Governor-General of New-France, Knight of the Order of Saint-Louis, born in Thongny-sur-Vire, Normandy, on November 12th, 1648; d. May 26th, 1703, at Quebec. Canadian Biography Online Dictionary.

[9] Indeed the Great Lakes are higher upstream than the "St.Lawrence Valley". At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, the *Pays-d'en-Haut* will be the Laurentians, a Precambrian mountainous region located north of Montreal, southern edge of the Canadian Shield, newly colonized by the Government of Quebec and its Minister of Colonization, Antoine Labelle, to avoid the hemorrhagia to the United States of the surplus of population.

present in Montreal that summer. The Indians set up their tipis and their wigwams along the walls of the city.

Their ambassadors brought a mandate for a general Peace. The belligerents were exhausted from all these blind and absurd wars. Teganissorens, the great Iroquois chief of the Onontagué Nation, longtime friends of the English, had revised his positions. The chiefs comprehended better and better that they had an interest in maneuvering as a united front against the greed of the two European powers in order to ensure the integrity of their territory and the independence of their Nations. This *Assembly of Peace* put an end to nearly 100 years of war and raids. All wanted to trade in peace. The cannon welcome preceded the welcome message. Native Americans shouted, unloaded their guns, and waved their oars at the end of their arm. The Governor of New France, Callière, Frontenac's successor, had a vast enclosure equipped with bleachers.

On August 4th, after several weeks of negotiations, gift exchanges and friendship ceremonies, an agreement was reached. All the ambassadors ratified peace and laid down their initials —drawing the totem animal of their tribe— on a document that has been lost, but whose content will be respected.

After the signing of the *Grande Paix de Montréal*[10] August 4th, 1701, the French and the Amerindians who came to settle in New France could begin to live peacefully. From that moment on, the Iroquois, of course,

[10] August 4th, which, 90 years later, will also represent for the French of the Revolution an important date, that of the *Abolition of the Privileges of the Nobility and Clergy*.

joined the English in war campaigns, but they refused to launch raids without them.

But let us return to Europe where, paradoxically, the physical and mental health of the King of Spain threatened general peace. In England, at the height of any religious misdirection, the English had been forced, according to the fantasy of their Monarch, to change five times their faith of religion in 30 brief years. Otherwise, English citizens ended up at the end of a rope or on a torture wheel. To preserve their already very modest longevity, Londoners had been compelled to behave like Roman Catholics[11] in 1530, as a non-Roman Catholic (i.e., Anglican[12]) the following year, like Presbyterians[13] (i.e., Calvinist) in 1547, like Roman Catholic[14] in 1553 and again, like Anglicans[15] five years later. Eventually, the British Government passed the *Test Act*, which intended to eradicate English Catholics from the status of Human Beings[16], just like the Jews under the Nazi regime. It was this segregation and persecution that populated so rapidly the Thirteen Colonies of America and later our Canada. At the same time, the unfortunate Catholic population of Ireland was systematically martyred or exiled by Oliver Cromwell, who considered himself to be 'Executor of the Highs-Works of God, The God's Executioner.[17]

[11] During most of the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1531).
[12] During the second part of the reign of Henry VIII (1531-1547). He forbade both Catholic worship and protestant.
[13] During the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553).
[14] During the reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558).
[15] During the reign of Elizabeth the First (1558-1603).
[16] Permanently. In 1829, the *Catholic Relief Act* cancelled the Test Act in England and the British Empire. Universities cancelled it at the end of the XIX Century. Only Canadians were spared for fear that the Canadians, strong recalcitrant in the Empire, would join the Insurgents of the Thirteen Colonies. If he was not in bad faith in writing his *Lettres anglaises*, Voltaire had undoubtedly ignored these deviant laws.
[17] On this subject, one will read with great interest the work of Micheàl Ó Siochrú, *God's Executioner, Oliver Cromwell and the Conquest of Ireland,* Faber & Faber Limited, London, 2008.



Death of the King of Spain

Therefore, everyone in Europe saw disappearing, with immense satisfaction, the last weeks of this distressing XVII Century who was going to die on December 31st, 1700. Nobody would regret it. Unfortunately, the gods had made a different choice. Sixty-one days before the Century died, November 1st, 1700, at the very moment when the delegates of the Indian Nations whipped with their rowing the tumultuous waters of the North American rivers to go to Montreal, the King of Spain, Charles II of Habsburg died. This fact, innocuous, would irreparably precipitate the XVIII Century in a long series of cruel wars that would have nothing to envy to the XVIIth.

On November 1st, Charles II died without an heir 1700, twenty-nine days after dictating a *Will* that would upset Europe and turn it into a battlefield. Here are the most important clauses of the Will of Charles II, dated October 2nd, 1700, which astonished all the courts of Europe and set the world on fire: "We have noticed, in accordance with the result of all the consultations held by our State and Justice Departments, that the reasons why the Infantes Dame Anne and Dame Marie-Thérèse, Queens of France, my aunt and sister, have renounced the succession of these kingdoms, were based only on danger and prejudice that this kingdom would experience if it were to be united with

France... that is why, settling on the said laws, *I declare for my successor*[18], if God withdraws me without having left any children, the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin of France. Consequently, I establish him and appoint him to succeed in all my Kingdoms and Estates, without excluding any of them. I command and order to all my subjects and vassals of all my Kingdoms and Estates, that, in the event that I die without leaving children, they recognize it and receive him for their King and natural Lord, and that without delay, they are currently in possession of them, provided they do and take the customary oaths to keep the laws, ordinances and customs of my said Kingdoms and Estates. My intention being that, for the good of my subjects and for the peace of Christendom and all of Europe, this monarchy should always be separated from the Crown of France[19], I declare that if the Duke of Anjou were to die or to be called to the succession of France, preferring the enjoyment of this Crown to that of Spain, then the succession of the monarchy will, under the same conditions, devolve to the Duke of Berry, third son of the Dauphin; and, in case the Duke of Berry died or inherit the Crown of France, I declare and appoint to this succession, the Archduke, second son of the Emperor[20], my uncle, excluding, by the same reasons and by the same disadvantages, contrary to the interest of my subjects, the eldest son of the said Emperor, my uncle. And in case that the Archduke also came to die, I declare and appoint to the said succession, the Duke of Savoy and his children. And it is my Will that this be carried out by all my subjects in

[18] Segment not highlighted in the original text.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

the manner I command; for it is expedient for their good that they do not suffer the monarchy to be shared or diminished, but remains in the same state where my ancestors gloriously established it. And, since I have a lot to heart and that I only wish the maintenance of peace and union, so beneficial to Christendom, between the Emperor my uncle and the Most Christian King[21], I pray and exhort them that this union be more firmly cemented by the bond of a marriage between the Duke of Anjou and the Archduchess, so that Europe may enjoy rest which is so necessary"[22]

In a word, the King of Spain gave his Crown to a Frenchman, grandson of Louis the XIV. The courts of Europe remained horrified. France was already the most populous country, with twenty million inhabitants, and the most powerful in Europe. This country had, during the Century that ended, outrageously enlarged by tearing from its neighbours entire parts of their heritage: the French had annexed Roussillon in 1659, a large piece of Flanders in 1662 and 1668, Artois in 1669, Alsace in 1675, Franche-Comté in 1678… The Holy Roman-Germanic Empire and Spain had paid the highest price for these dismemberments.



[21] Très-Chrétien King, title designating the king of France. The Emperor is that of the Holy Roman Empire.
[22] Jean Dumont, Corps universel diplomatique, at P. Brunei, R and G. Wetstein, the Janssons Waesberge, and L'Honore et Chatelain, Amsterdam, & at P. Husson and Charles Levier, The Hague, 1726-1731, volume VIII, part. I, p. 30.

Charles II's reign had been catastrophic for Spain on the economic and political levels. Spain, plunged into disorder and destruction, had lost the great consideration this country had enjoyed in Europe. At all levels of the Administration, there was deleterious corruption and senseless incivism. The men in power had shown to be incompetent and uninterested in the country's affairs. After the glories of the past, the Army itself had also experienced its darkest hours by accumulating failures against the French troops during the Wars of Devolution and Holland.

Charles the Second, King of Spain and Naples, son of Philip IV, having had the imprudence to enter the coalition against Louis XIV, had been dispossessed of Franche-Comté and several provinces of the Spanish Netherlands.[23]. Having no children, despite having been married twice, he had seen European powers settle *without him* the division of its states[24]. In his indignation, he had just dictated, on this October 2nd, 1,700 —perhaps to throw from beyond the grave a last challenge in the face of all those European courts that despised him—, a Will, a testament, by which he chose, as heir to the entire Spanish Empire, Philip of France, Duke of Anjou and grandson of Louis the Fourteen. He died little thereafter, on November 1st. In him ended the eldest branch of the House of Austria, which had ruled the Spanish Empire for two centuries. France was then the only country in Europe powerful enough to impose the Will of the dying King of Spain.

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[23] In 1678, the *Spanish Netherlands* roughly corresponded to the geographic area of present-day Belgium.

[24] In l668, in 1698 and in 1700.

Immediately, the continent entered into ebullition, for, if the Duke of Anjou became *King of the Spanish Empire*, then, randomly of successions, he also could cap the Crown of France[25]". This new Franco-Spanish country centralized under one man would be powerful enough to defeat all possible coalitions and annex with impunity any country.

In fact, the question of the succession of Spain arose in 1665 due to the psychological instability of the Spanish sovereign, Charles II of Habsburg. He accumulated many flaws, many problems: impotence, epilepsy and heredosyphilis[26]. It was certainly too much, at the time, for a man aspiring to paternity. In fact, all the courts in Europe were contaminated by consanguinity.

"The cabinet of France felt a great embarrassment when the Will of Charles II arrived, on November 9th, at Fontainebleau, where Louis XIV was at the moment.[27].» The French were not unaware that if the court of France refused the Crown of Spain, it would probably fall to the Archduke of Austria, which was also preparing to become the Emperor of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire. On the contrary, in the alternative of an acceptance, the war would inexorably rekindle. To carry out the Treaty, it would be

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[25] The Will of Charles II theoretically forbade this, but jurists were swarming with ideas to circumvent regulations. And then, in matters of international politics, the *force was law.*

[26] The successive consanguineous marriages in the family, consequences of the great genetic proximity of Charles II, had produced such a degeneration, that Charles was rickety, sickly, and debilitated. He was so weakly built that he could not speak until he was four and walk until he was 8. An analysis by UCM University in Madrid of the King's mortal remains shows that he had Klinefelter syndrome. He died without descendants, extinguishing with him the Spanish branch of the House of the Habsburgs. His nickname *El Hechizado* (The bewitch) reflects the popular belief of the time that her physical and mental disorders were caused by witchcraft or demonic possession.

[27] Jean Dumont, Corps universel diplomatique, P. Brunei, R and G. Wetstein, the Janssons Waesberge, and L'Honore et Chatelain, Amsterdam, & P. Husson and Charles Levier, The Hague, 1726-1731, volume VIII, part. I, page.31.

necessary to conquer not only the fortresses of the Iberian Peninsula and Flanders, but entire kingdoms. It was a serious threat.

The *"Conseil d'en Haut*" at Versailles was divided. Pontchartrain and the Dauphin wanted to accept the Will, but Torcy and Beauvilliers advocated refusal. Madame de Maintenon, for her part, was of the opinion to accept. It's only after receiving other letters from Madrid that the King deemed appropriate to acquiesce himself to this Will. On November 16th, 1700, he presented the Duke of Anjou at court under his new title: "Gentlemen, here is the *King of Spain*." Thanks to this approval, Spain will not participate anymore in the strategic encirclement of France until the French Revolution[28]. As “the only interest of Europe was to avoid the reunion of the two crowns[29],” European Powers met immediately in The Hague and negotiated a coalition to defeat this mortal danger. La France was already quite domineering. This country would become despotic, no doubt, with a boost of power. Louis XIV accepted the Will, but to calm the worry, committed himself that the monarchies of France and Spain remain distinct, as they had always been: "His Majesty is convinced that he gives a vivid proof of his moderation by renouncing the significant advantages which his Crown received from such a Treaty. The resolution he takes to keep the Monarchy of

[28] Except during the War of the Quadruple-Alliance, under the influence of Cardinal Giulio Alberoni, the war of Spain against France and England in 1719 led to the failure of the engagement of the daughter of Philippe V with Louis XV in 1725.
[29] Jean Dumont, Corps universel diplomatique, at P. Brunei, R and G. Wetstein, the Janssons Waesberge, and L'Honore et Chatelain, Amsterdam, & at P. Husson and Charles Levier, The Hague, 1726-1731, Book VIII, part. I, page 47.

Spain in its ancient lustre is even more consistent with the general interest of the whole of Europe[30]"

It was apparently very clear, but without conviction in the mind of the King. Even if one is never better served than by oneself, Louis XIV thus liked to adorn himself with virtues of "moderation" and "renunciation," to which only the most subservient courtiers believed. Half reassured, European Powers hesitated and then suspended the conclusion of their *Grande Alliance offensive* against France for some time. However, Leopold the I^st^ of Habsburg, Emperor of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire, resolutely refused to see his dynasty, *the House of Habsburg*, losing the prestigious throne of the Spanish Empire. He kept on preparing for war to establish his son, the Serene Archduke Charles of Austria, on the throne of Spain. That was certainly not at the beginning of this XVIII Century that the Habsburgs would voluntarily renounce the Spanish jewel that sparkled all over the world and allowed Austria to wear like a diadem their conceited device coined by Frederick III: "It is up to Austria to rule the whole Universe.'' In latin A.E.I.O.U.: *Austriae est imperare orbi universe*.

Suddenly, Louis XIV himself no longer appeared totally certain that his grandson, who had become King of Spain, absolutely had to renounce the Crown of France. Some of his statements were ambiguous and equivocal. They revealed much more premeditation that the King of France did not want to let it glimpsed. For example, he told diplomats who carefully noted his revealing words: "The first object of His Majesty, by accepting the Will of the late King of Spain, Charles the Second, is to keep Europe

[30] Ibid., p.47.

at peace. Far from considering expansion through the acquisition of *so many powerful States that God brings into the Royal House of France*[31]..."

All of Europe then felt threatened by the potential dynastic alliance of France and Spain[32], all the more strongly as French jurists, legal experts, jurisconsults and other manipulators and illusionists of Law and Justice, had convinced the King —probably to flatter his own wish— that a waiver would go against the Will of God. And everyone knows that God's Will is sacred, especially when it rewards our selfish desire. By virtue of this divine wish, Louis XIV recklessly acknowledged by *Letters Patent* of February 1st, 1701, the unwavering right of Philip V to succeed the Crown of France. Consequently, if only force and violence could change the Will of God, all that remained was to fight. War was becoming inevitable.

Why, then, did the French want so much to install a French prince on the throne of Spain? It was a long story. At the beginning of the XVIIIe Century, most of the Germanic-speaking countries constituted another virtual empire, *the Holy Roman Empire*[33], generated by the Frankish

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[31] This segment, not highlighted in the original version, seems to contradict the rest of the sentence issued by the King of France. Compendium of Instructions given to Ambassadors and Ministers of France from the Treaties of Westphalia to the French Revolution, XII Spain, with an introduction and notes by A. Morel-Fatio and H. Leonardon, volume second (1701-1722), (Published by the Commission from the Diplomatic Archives to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Former Librairie Germer Bailliere and Felix Alcan, Publisher, Paris, 1898; pages 229 and following.

[32] Bely, Lucien, Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV, Fayard, Paris, 1990.

[33] The Holy Roman Empire was founded by Otho [Otto] the Great in 962, after the demise of the Roman Empire [29 BC. AD - 395 AD. AD] and the Frankish Empire founded by Charlemagne in 800, which lasted until Louis the Child, in 911. The Holy Roman Empire was abolished in 1806, by Napoleon Ist, by the abdication of Françis II, Emperor of Austria. It was reestablished at Versailles in favour of King William Ist of Prussia, on January 18th, 1871, under the official title of *German Empire* or *II Reich*. Francis II of Habsburg-Lorraine, who was to deposit on April 6th, 1806, the Imperial Crown of the Holy Roman Empire, had taken, on August 1st, 1804, the title of Francis I, Emperor of Austria. The Austrian Empire thus formed ended following the First World War, with the abdication of Charles IV on November 11th, 1918. The First Reich, therefore, lasted 1006 years,

Empire of Charlemagne on the ashes of the Roman Empire. This Empire had been "invented" to prevent the keystone, the heart of the Christian Empire and the Western Civilization, from moving away to the East, to Byzantium which, since the weakening of Rome under the blows of the barbars, coveted the leadership of the Christian World.

This Holy Roman-Germanic Empire had once presented for the King *Francis the First* of France a constant threat. The various French monarchs had since set themselves the task of monitoring very closely the evolution of this disparate and disunited ensemble, in order to prevent it from crystallizing into a single threatening Empire. Such a union —that Austria longed for, and Bismarck (then Hitler) realized— would have reconstituted the Empire of Charles V that dangerously encircled France, and had forced Francis the First to make an alliance with the Ottoman Empire to threaten his enemies in their back to setback in the strategic aim of bringing some relief to France. But it is always dangerous to seek help from potential invaders. The Turks had taken the opportunity to take roots in large part of Europe[34].

The danger of a restoration of the Empire of Charles V −although unlikely− was therefore never totally ruled out. That's why the French closely monitored alliances between the many independent principalities which constituted the Holy Roman Empire, to avoid any

from 800 to 1806, the Second Reich 47 years, from 1871 to 1918, and the Third Reich, that of Adolf Hitler, was to last 1000 years; like the first, it only lasted 12 years, from 1933 to 1945, and even the first date is disputed.

[34] First half of the 16th Century. In the same way, in England, the King of the Celts Vortigern called the Saxons to his aid; in Spain, the Visigoth Julien, in conflict with King Rodrigue, called on the Muslims of Morocco for his help. In Ireland, Dermot MacMurrough begged the English to come and support him. The examples are many and varied in space and time.

potentially dangerous potency coagulation. In the same way, the Americans are trying in this twenty-first Century to avoid the European Union from becoming an overly centralized state that could, by its very power, overshadow their hegemony.[35].

One of these Germanic crystallization zones was Austria. The Habsburg reigning family had managed to build a so-called *hereditary* European Empire. As for Prussia, in the hands of the ambitious Hohenzllern family, it had already put away its Teutonic Knight's balaclava to gradually metamorphose itself into one of the most bellicose states of Europe.

The politico-religious wars of the XVII Century[36] had been very favourable to the French strategy by dividing the martial Holy Roman-Germanic Empire into two foe factions which neutralized each other. The protestant north opposed the catholic south, which relied on Austria, whose monarch remained, until the War of the Austrian Succession, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. If his emperor was still elected by the various princes and Bishops *Electors*, he had only a *theoretical* power, since, as we have mentioned, the Reformation had divided Europe into two zones of religious affinity and had weakened the very fiber of this set. Austria was certainly Catholic, but her power could, to the limit, threaten France's security in Europe.

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[35] For that, they try to introduce in this Union, foreigners like Turkey, or England, which plays the role of Trojan Horse and refuses any centralization.
[36] The Thirty Year's War and the War of the League of Augsburg.

Charles' Will was accepted as such by Spain. It was initialled by the Cortes[37]. Philip of Anjou was, therefore, proclaimed King of Spain and received with enthusiasm by his new subject, who saw in him the prince of their choice and not a sovereign imposed by foreigners. "In Naples alone, the taking of the oath of fidelity experienced some delays caused by the supporters of the House of Austria[38].

After the first stunner, everyone appeared first to resign themselves to a *fait accompli*, except for the Austrian sovereign. But several new events jeopardized the situation and served the cause of the *Austrian party*, which demanded for Spain a prince of the House of Habsburg[39].

As for England, the major triggering event was that this country[40], which until then had sold to Spain immense supplies from its factories, was supplanted by France. French manufactures quickly dispossessed them of this lucrative trade[41].



[37] The Cortes General = the Parliament or equivalent of the States General in Spain.

[38] Giraud, Charles, *The Treaty of Utrecht*, Communication & tradition, 94-Le Plessis-Trévise, 1997.

[39] Flassan, *Histoire de la diplomatie française*, tome IV, pages 196-197.

[40] 'Who will *de facto* annex Scotland in 1707, to become Great Britain.

[41] Lenclume, Jacques, *Reasons that the Most Christian King Had for Preferring the Will of Charles II to the Partition of the Succession of Spain, the advantages which accrue to it, with the interests of the princes of Europe in a great event,* at Pamplona, 1701.

Even though the old laws of Charles V forbade all foreign ships the entrance to the Spanish colonies; not only Louis XIV did occupy by its fleets the main stations of the Spanish Indies, but a treaty concluded on August 17th, 1701, opened to the French the door to the Spanish trade that closed to English merchants.

A French squadron even came to occupy the port of Cadiz to establish France's stranglehold.

London's financial lobbies immediately mobilized in favor of War. England enriched by commerce would become the banker of War. *This was the essential and profound motive of this War of the Spanish Succession. The other causes were only the pretexts, at least as far as England was concerned*[1]. One of these pretexts was that, "James II having died[2] at Saint-Germain, on November 16th, 1701, Louis the XIV recognized the Prince of Galles immediately[3], his [Catholic] son, as King of England, Scotland and Ireland. William III, Protestant usurper King, considering this recognition as a direct insult and

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[1] The merchant lobbies of London were organized in real Royal Administration, which bore the name of *Council of Trade and Foreign Plantations*. This organization was created by the Crown of England in 1696 It was composed of non-salaried *ex-officio* Commissionaires who were not required to attend regular meetings and 8 paid Commissionaires who directed the commercial strategy of the English Government for the benefit of the merchant lobbies. The oldest (senior) Paid Commissionaire was called the *First Lord* and presided over the entire Council. The ex-officio Commissionaires consisted of an aristocrat who could thus influence the *House of Lords*. He could be the Lord Chancellor or the Lord Keeper, the Lord President of the Council, the Lord of the Privy Seal, the Lord Treasurer or First Lord of the Treasure, Lord Admiral or First Lord of the Admiralty, Secretary of State and Chancellor of the Exchequer. They were joined by the Bishop of London in 1702 and the Surveyor and the Auditor General of the Plantations in 1721.

[2] Anglo-Scottish Catholic King, a refugee in France.

[3] James II Stuart (October 14th, 1633 – November 16th, 1701) was King of England as James II and simultaneously King of Scotland from 1685 to 1689. Despite this very brief reign, he played a major role in English history, for he was overthrown during the *Glorious Protestant Revolution* of 1688, during which the Whig party decided to call for help from the Dutch and the Huguenot refugees in Holland, with William of Orange, to get rid of the last representative of the Catholic Stuart dynasty.

retraction of the recognition he had obtained at Ryswick from Louis the XIV himself, recalled from Paris his minister, the Earl of Manchester. The English nation was irritated. Louis the XIV who had believed he was imposing his Will on William III by a threat[4], communicated at foreign rates an explanatory note of his conduct"[5]. The French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, "M. de Torcy, expressed his regrets about this compromising recognition[6]". Around the same time, Louis the XIV had the court of Madrid probed on the proposal to cede the Spanish Netherlands to France[7], and this approach having been unsuccessful, French troops occupied, unexpectedly and on the same day, all the strongholds of the Netherlands that were in the Dutch custody as Barrière[8] under the Treaty of Ryswick. The Dutch evacuated the Spanish Netherlands, but this sudden preventive invasion made it impute to Louis the XIV a new project of annexation of these provinces.

To confirm and accredit all these ulterior motives, Louis the XIV recklessly uttered another sentence that

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[4] It is, of course, the Protestant King William of Orange who had just overthrown the Catholic James Stuart. This did not prevent William from bearing the traditional title of the Kings of England: *Defender of the Faith* (Catholic). Henry VIII of England (1491- 1547), who bore the title of King of France, England and Ireland, and who was attached to the French Capetians by his rear-grandma Catherine de France, got this title from the Pope Leon X. This pope awarded him the title of "Defender of the Faith" (Defensor Fidei, Défenseur de la Foi) for having harshly inveighed the Protestants in general and Martin Luther in particular. All the Kings of England have held this title since 1521.

[5] Flassan, comte Gaetan de Raxis de Flassan, *Histoire générale et raisonnée de la diplomatie française, depuis la fondation de la monarchie jusqu'à la fin du règne de Louis XVI*, Lenormant, Paris, 1 809. Volume IV, p.210 ff.

[6] Mémoires de M. de Torci sur les négociations depuis la Paix de Riswick jusqu'à celle d'Utrecht, The Hague, 1756. 3 vol.

[7] Flassan, comte Gaétan de Raxis de Flassan, *Histoire générale et raisonnée de la diplomatie française, depuis la fondation de la monarchie jusqu'à la fin du règne de Louis XVI,* Lenormant, Paris, 1809. p. 226. The Spanish (or Catholic) Netherlands corresponds roughly to Belgium.

[8] *The* [Strategic] *Barrière* is the line of fortress cities of the Netherlands (i.e., Belgium) to protect the United Provinces (Holland) against France.

frightened the world. When he placed the Crown of Spain on the head of his grandson, he declared: "There are no more Pyrenees." This was another pretext for England, and another cause for the Dutch and the Austrians. The *Maritime States*[9] resumed negotiations to arrive at a coalition. On January 20th, 1701, England, the United Provinces and Denmark signed a defensive alliance pact, motivated by the change brought about in Europe by the death of the "King-Catholic"[10].

Even more serious, by *Letters Patent* of February 1st, 1701, Louis the XIV formally declared to keep to his grandson the *right to succeed* the Crown of France". Reuniting the two monarchies under one head by threatening the balance of Europe was a violation of the Will of Charles the Second himself. The King of France also made a revealing remark to the Constable of Castile: "The French and Spanish nations will be so united that the two will form only one!" All these reckless comments set fire to the Powder.

In September 1701, another treaty was concluded between England, Austria and the United Provinces, **1** “to provide Austria *satisfactionem œquam et rationabilem*[11] on the occasion of the succession to the Spanish throne; **2**° for the benefit of the United Provinces (Hol-

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[9] The United Provinces (Holland) and England.

[10] The Catholic King is the heteronym of the King of Spain. *Universal Diplomatic Corps of International Law; containing a Collection of treaties of Alliance, of peace ... of all conventions ... & other contracts, which have been made in Europe, from the reign of Emperor Charlemagne until now; with imperial and royal capitulations ... & in general of all titles ... which can be used to find, establish, or justify the rights and interests of the princes and states of Europe* ... by M. J. Dumont ..., at P. Brunei, R and G. Wetstein, the Janssons Waesberge, and L'Honoré and Chatelain Amsterdam hez P. Brunei, R. and J. Wetstein, and G. Smith, Henri Waesberge, and Z. Chatelain], at P. Husson and Charles Levier, La Haye, 1726-1731. [8 vol.]

[11] *Satisfactionem cequam et rationabilem* : a just and reasonable satisfaction.

land) *ad removendam Galliam a Belgio fœderato*[12]; **3°** for the benefit of England, *ad commercia favenda*[13]. A separate article was related to the recognition of the Prince of Wales by the King of France, which *gravem injuriam et indignam universœ nationi (britannicoe) intulit*[14]".

Thus was formed in 1702 *the Grande Alliance of The Hague* between the *High Allies*, under the aegis of Emperor Leopold the First of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire, supported by the troops of Brandenburg (Prussia), Austria, Piedmont and Portugal... and subsidized by the famous English gold *guineas*. This Alliance lasted until 1712. The agreements of this Alliance stipulated that *England, and the United Provinces would retain for themselves all the conquests that these countries could make in the Spanish colonies*. The Holy Roman Empire reserves for itself the Spanish territories located in the Italian peninsula.

It seems paradoxical and even irrational that a candidate for the throne of Spain —in this case, Charles III of Habsburg— may say to his allies: "You give me a helping hand to seize my throne, in return for everything, all territory that is part of my heritage that you can occupy by force, I give it to you!". Another clause of the same Treaty must attract our attention because it will become

[12] *Ad removendam Galliam a Belgio foederato* : in order to expel France from the Belgian federation.

[13] *Ad commercia favenda* :.for the purpose of promoting trade. This act can be seen in Dumont, at P. Brunei, R and G. Wetstein, the Janssons Waesberge, and L'Honoré and Chatelain, Amsterdam, & at P. Husson and Charles Levier, La Haye, 1726-1731, volume VIII, part.l, page 10 ff.

[14] *Gravem injuriam et indignam universes nationi (britannic) intulit*: Has brought a grievous and unworthy injury to the (British) nation as a whole.

the stumbling stone of this Alliance. According to Article Eight of the Treaty of the Grande Alliance signed in 1701 and 1702: "*No Member of the Grande Alliance is allowed to make a separate peace with the French*[15].

According to the terms of this Alliance, the Emperor of the Holy Empire, ruler of Austria, "would provide[16] for the Land Service ninety thousand soldiers, the King of England, forty-thousand [overwhelmingly German, Highlanders, Irish], the Estates-General[17], one hundred and two thousand, of which forty-two thousand would be intended to reinforce their garrisons, and sixty thousand for acting in campaign against the common enemy. With regard to operations at sea, it was agreed that they would be done in concert with Great Britain and the States-General, that the share of the Ships that the first would provide would be five-eighths, and that of the second of three-eighths."

Hostilities began on these figures in 1702. Thus it could be predicted that "the total expenditure[18] of England, amounted annually to £3,706,494... The sums needed to do the service on the base of last year. This amount to more than £6,960,000, not to mention the interest of the public debt, and non-values, which increased last year, so these two items go up to £1,143,000 more, and

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[15] Swift, Jonathan, *Histoire du règne de la reine Anne d'Angleterre contenant les Négociations de la Paix d 'Utrecht, et les démêlés qu 'elle occasionna en Angleterre, ouvrage posthume du Docteur Jonathan Swift*, Doyen de S.Patrice en Irlande; publié sur un Manuscrit corrigé de la propre main de l'Auteur, & traduit de l'Anglois par M**** [Marc-Antoine Eidous], Chez Marc-Michel Rev., & Arkstee & Merkus, a Amsterdam, 1765. Livre Deuxième, p.129. On verra comment *l'Angleterre réussit à contourner cet article sans le violer* [pieux mensonge du patriote Swift pour excuser la trahison perpétrée par son pays] en ne signant qu'un cessez-le-feu avec la France, jusqu'à ce que ses Alliés, découragés, soient forcés de signer la Paix générale.

[16] Swift, Book III, p. 211 and following. Address in Parliament, to the Queen, from Mr. Thomas Hanmer speaker of the House of Commons, December 18th, 1711. This text is used here for the figures which are revealed.

[17]. The *United Provinces* commonly called Holland.

[18] Swift, Third Book, p. 211 ff.

the requests that we made this year to your Communes to more than £ 8,000,000."

In addition, without wishing to anticipate events, they will quickly realize that if they wanted to hope to defeat France, an extra effort had to be made. The following year, therefore, in 1703, a new treaty between England and the United Provinces was charged with increasing "jointly the Army of twenty thousand men, in which the proportions were varied, so that England obliged itself to provide half of it[19]."

Thus, the Austrians were preparing to die for the Prestige of the Habsburgs, the English sacrificed their gold of guinea[20] to defend their economic privileges threatened by France. Only the Dutch were really fighting for their survival in the face of the threatening French. France, for its part, had no allies other than Spain, itself torn apart by civil war, as well as the prince-electors of Bavaria and Cologne, not to mention... the Catholic Pretender to the throne of England, Jacques III, exiled in France. The Pope's moral support, Clement XI, who wanted to thwart Protestant countries such as England and the United Provinces, was also acquired by France.

Austria prepared for the struggle with great sacrifices. To obtain German mercenaries, Vienna recognized the King of Prussia, who was the main supplier of *human material*[21] in Europe. In order to get more money from

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[19] Swift, Third Book.

[20] Black gold from the Gulf of Guinea = the Slave Trade from the Gulf of Guinea from which the pounds (£) of Guinea were created. This new currency, Guinea, of the same value as the pound sterling at the beginning, was first minted with the gold from the Gold Coast. When its value became higher than that of the ordinary pound and the mines of the Gold Coast were exhausted, American gold mines were used.

[21] Others will say *cannon fodder*. Frederic I[st] Hohenzollern of Prussia had joined the Great Alliance by the Treaty of December 30[th], 1701. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, by the secret Treaty of December 16[th], 1702, undertook not to conclude peace without requiring from Louis XIV that Frederic I[st] be recognized as King of Prussia; but the latter was to supply 8,000 men to

England for whom the War remained "*a fruitful investment that can pay off big"*, the Holy Roman Emperor gave foot in his Empire to the *House of Hanover*, in favor of which was created a ninth Electorate.[22]". Thus, the future Kings of England were going to be *Electors of Hanover* and could draw from the Hanoverian population their *human material* [to use this horrible expression], their mercenaries, free of charge, to fight in place of English soldiers reluctant to go to War. So much so that two centuries later, it can be said that *much more German soldiers than English had died for the British Empire*.

The Electors of Prussia, of the Palatinate and Hanover "provided nothing but men for the pay and subsidies they received[23]". This trafficking of human lives will last until Bismarck unifies Germany under the same sceptre[24]. But this strongly centralized unification by Chancellor Bismarck was going to make the peoples of Europe [including Germany] groan and cry during a century of horror, the XXe. England, with about 16 million inhabitants (in 1705), provided fewer soldiers (3000) than Scotland or Ireland (5 to 6000 each), both of which had no more than two million of inhabitants. *This gave a soldier for 363 inhabitants in the two Celtic countries and a ratio more than ten times less in England (1 for 5300 inhabitants).*

Some princes acceded to the *Grande Alliance* of September 1701 by subsequent acts, from March 22nd,

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the coalition at its own expense, not counting the mercenary troops. Albert Waddington, The Acquisition of the Royal Crown of Prussia by the Hohenzollerns, E. Leroux, Paris, 1888.

22 Flassan, p.57.

23 Swift, Book 4, p.344.

24 In 1870.

1702, only[25]. Prussia had promised troops in the previous January and December[26]. Portugal did not join the coalition[27] before 1703. England that supplied the bulk of the financial effort of the War demanded in return not only the creation of the *House of Hanover* in its favour, as we have said, but imposed its own general as generalissimo of the Grande Alliance. The Duke of Marlborough, leader of the Whig[28] party, became the supreme military leader. Heinsius, *Grand Pensionary of Holland*, and *Prince Eugène de Savoy-Carignan* (for Austria and the Holy Roman Empire) were unofficially the second violins. However, to respect the honour of every allied nation, all those generals of the triumvirate were *officially* equal.

After starting the conflagration, William the Third of England[29] died, on March 8th, 1702, of a horse fall aggravated by pneumonia. Anne Stuart was crowned Queen of England on April 23rd. She was the last of the Scottish Dynasty if we disregard the Stuart Catholics dethroned and exiled in France. The Manifesto of the United Provinces and the Declaration of War of the Coalition were simultaneously published in May 1702.

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[25] Dumont, at P. Brunei, R and G. Wetstein, the Janssons Waesberge, and L'Honore and Chatelain, Amsterdam, & atP. Husson and Charles Levier, La Haye, 1726-1731, p. 114-1 16-121.

[26] Ibid., o.96.

[27] Ibid., P. 127. The *Treaty of Methuen*, which was signed in Lisbon on December 27th, 1703, between England and Portugal, completed the military agreement. Through this commercial Treaty, wanted by the London merchant lobbies, England was able to freely export its textiles to Portugal and its numerous colonies. Portugal was able to export its wine at low prices to England. This Treaty was particularly interesting for England because it opened up a market for its products, but it turned Portugal economically dependent. The name of the Treaty comes from the English politician John Methuen, the ambassador to Portugal who negotiated this Treaty.

[28] Also called the *Party of the Church of England.*

[29] William of Orange.

In addition to the opening of hostilities, they announced: “Leopold, Emperor of the Romans[30], always august, etc., let the world know that by the death of the highest and most powerful Prince Charles II, King of Spains and Indias, our brother and nephew, all the states and kingdoms of his dominion being devolved to us by hereditary law, we have seriously thought the difficulty of one and the same prince to govern such remote Kingdoms so far away at the same time as our Hereditary States, mainly at this time and as required by the property of our peoples and the common salvation of Europe... On behalf of the very holy and indivisible Trinity, with the express consent of our son firstborn, Joseph, King of the Romans, we hereby yielded and assigned, in the best form of law, to our second son the Serene Archduke Charles and his posterity to be born of legitimate marriage, excluding the legitimized, the totality of the Spanish Monarchy... as possessed by the deceased King Charles the Second, and that we could or should have possessed it ourselves, except and reserved on this Kingdom the right and order of succession established for our House... and the rights of the Empire[31].”

Europe was, therefore, at War; it would last for 13 years, an evil number.



[30] Emperor of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire, of course.
[31] The full text can be found in Dumont, p. 133ff.

Belligerents: the supporters of the Bourbons of France

•The King of *France* considered that he had as many rights to the succession of Spain, being son and husband of Spanish infanta[32]. A Bourbon King on the throne of Spain would at least *save France the risk of complete encirclement*, as under Emperor Charles V. The vagaries of War could present a great danger for France in the event that the coalition is too powerful. France would run the risk of losing all territorial acquisitions of Louis XIV to the detriment of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire and Spanish Empire: Artois, French Flanders, Alsace and the territory of Strasbourg, Franche-Comté, the territory of Briançon, the Comtat Venaissin and Roussillon[33] ... A defeat would inevitably lead to the amputation of a large part of the French territory.

•*Spain*, divided by civil War, weakened and impoverished, essentially sought to safeguard its colonial Empire, but renounced to play an important role in Europe. The Catalans were the only "Spaniards" to have deliberately and with a perfect set, chosen together the camp of King Charles III of Habsburg, candidate of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire, who, to bait them, had offered them internal autonomy. Moreover, to keep them in their

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[32] His mother was Anne of Austria, whose real name was Anna Maria Mauricia, Infante of Spain, Infante de Portugal, Archduchess of Austria, daughter of Philip IV of Spain.

[33] Artois Province had been acquired in 1659, French Flanders in 1662 and 1668, Alsace Province in 1675 and the territory of Strasbourg in 1681, the Franche-Comte Province in 1678, the territory of Briancon in 1713, the Comtat Venaissin Province in 1791 and the Roussillon Province in l659

camp, the English had repeatedly promised them that they would never leave them to fall and that they would have within King Charles III' Spain a predominant role. As we will see, the promise was only a trap.

• *Bavaria*, which was an integral part of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire, had made common cause with the French. We can wonder why, even ignoring the fact that the mother of the Duke of Anjou, the future King of Spain for whom Europe was fighting to the death, was *Marie Anne Christine of Bavaria*. Maximilian II Emmanuel Wittelsbach had become Elector of Bavaria in 1679. His wife, who died on December 12th, 1692, had passed on to her son, Joseph-Ferdinand, her rights to the Crown of Spain, rights which prevailed for a moment in Charles II' mind[34]. But this child[35] died on February 6th, 1699, only a few months before the throne of Spain was made vacant by the death of Charles II. That is why, before he died, the King of Spain, who seemed to absolutely wish to deprive his own family, the Habsburg who deconsidered him, of the Crown of Spain, chose the Duke of Anjou as heir.

By supporting the candidacy of his son Joseph-Ferdinand in the succession of the King-Catholic[36], Maximilian II Emmanuel Wittelsbach, Elector of Bavaria, had distanced himself from the Holy Roman Emperor and moved closer to France. He remained faithful to Philip V of Spain[37]", and when War broke out, he took part along-

[34] Will of November 28th, 1698.
[35] Joseph Ferdinand.
[36] Title of the King of Spain.
[37] Candidate for the French.

side the French generals in the Campaigns of the Spanish Netherlands, while its so-called *Hereditary States* were invaded and swallowed up by German and English imperial troops. He did not recover his country before the Treaty of Rastatt[38] at the end of this War of Spanish Succession. Fortunately, Maximilian II of Bavaria had taken his precautions when he had opted for France against the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire of which Bavaria was one of the components[39]. He demanded that the King of France promise him the Spanish Netherlands[40], in compensation for the anticipated loss of his Bavarian Electorate. The King of Spain, therefore, committed himself *in a letter*, handwritten by himself to the Elector of Bavaria, granting him all that the King of France, his grandfather, had promised him in his name. Wittelsbach demanded serious guarantees, not without reasons, because he actually lost Bavaria but recovered it at the outcome of the War, while the Netherlands, hitherto Spanish, became Austrian.

Belligerents: the supporters of the Habsburgs of Austria.

*__The Habsburgs of Austria__, cadet branch of the House of Spain, felt that this heritage should naturally come back to their candidate Charles III, Austrian prince. Indeed, the Habsburgs controlled much of the Holy Roman Empire, which provided the bulk of the soldiers against France. The ruler of Austria also capped the Crown of Hungary.

[38] The Treaty of Rastatt can be considered as a component of the Treaty of Utrecht.

[39] Austria also was Catholic. Since the end of the Thirty Years' War, each State of the Holy Roman Empire has practiced the religion of its sovereign.

[40] Actual Belgium, almost.

***England.** The King of England, William III of Orange-Nassau[41] subsidized the anti-French coalition: La Grande-Alliance. This Protestant King, who was going to die at the beginning of this War, had once usurped the throne of England by dethroning the Catholic King. William of Orange was inspired by a strong animosity against Catholicism in general, and the French in particular, who tended to consider his homeland, the United Provinces of which he was also the Stadtholder (the President), as territories to be annexed. One of the articles of the Treaty of Coalition granted the throne of Spain to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and his posterity, *excluding the House of France*[42]. England, an old ally of the House of Austria for thwarting the influence of France, had taken *foot economically* in Spain and in all the Spanish colonies. The Merchant Lobbies that directed English politics preferred, therefore, the *status quo*. France had an imposing navy. But, united with Spain, this country could close the Mediterranean to England and endanger the latter's trade. And then, the occupation of the Spanish Netherlands by France cut off to the English the river route of Central Europe through the Rhine. As a result, England's continental interest seemed, for more than a century, concentrated in the United Provinces and in the Spanish Netherlands[43].

For religious reasons, Elisabeth of England had supported the Dutch in their insurrection against Philip II of Spain; Cromwell had done the project to annex the

[41] The House of Orange (-Nassau), was in a distant way, originally from Orange, a city of France. This King of England was at the same time Stadtholder of Holland and the United Provinces.
[42] Segment not highlighted in the original text.
[43] Which became the Austrian Netherlands at the end of the present War.

coasts of these lands, and William of Nassau had there strengthened the English influence.

***The United Provinces[44].**

As mentioned above, William III of Orange-Nassau.[45], King of England, was also Stadtholder of the Netherlands and he remained so until his death. For Holland, *the Barrier* of the Spanish Netherlands was a *boulevard*[46] against France, always threatening. France had long coveted the Spanish Netherlands, which seemed to the French to be a natural complement to their territory, west of the Rhine, in a century in which each State is looking for Natural borders: the Pyrenees to the south, the Alps to the east and the Rhine to the North-East and North, not counting the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, the Iroise Sea, the English Channel and the North Sea... Thus, the question of the Spanish Netherlands was the one that offered the most difficulties in this sector, because the divergent interests of three powers were involved..." According to Jonathan Swift[47], the "Barrier normally consisted of fortresses: Veurne (Furnes), the

[44] More commonly called "Holland" as the name "France" also includes all the other provinces.

[45] Who did not die until March 1702 as a result of a fall from his horse. The Count of Orange, who became Prince of Orange in 1181, was a stronghold of the Holy Roman Empire, since it was part of the Kingdom of Burgundy. The Principality of Orange was a sovereign principality, almost entirely enclosed in the Comté de Provence and having its capital in the city of Orange, in the current French department of Vaucluse. The county and then the principality thus benefited from the sovereignty specific to the lands of the Empire. The county passed in 1173 to the House of Baux, then the principality itself passed in 1388 to the House of Châlon, and in 1544 to the House of Nassau. The founder of the House of Orange-Nassau, William I of Orange-Nassau (1544-1584), known as William the Silent, was the first Stadtholder of the United Provinces (Holland). The title of Prince of Orange is currently carried by Prince William-Alexander of the Netherlands of the House of Orange-Nassau.

[46]A *boulevard* was a fortification line. After the destruction of the old fortifications in the cities of France, the streets created on their site kept the name of Boulevard. The name spread throughout Europe.

[47] Swift, Book Fourth, p. 287.

Fort de la Kénoque, Menin, Ipres, Lisle, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Douay, Béthune, Aire-sur-la-Lys, Saint-Venant and Bouchain." But the Dutch wanted to add some others to the Barrier, fortresses that would have secured their territory, perpetually under the threat of the French.

***Brandenburg**, i.e., *Prussia*.

The Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick, who had forged a formidable army, agreed to rent soldiers to participate in the War against the French. In return, his *Electorship of Brandenburg* was transformed into the *Kingdom of Prussia*. Austria did not fail to regret this promotion of Prussia, a few years later, at the time of the *Succession of Austria*, and later still in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

***Piedmont** was a province of Savoy. Prince Eugène of Savoy commanded the troops, at the same time as those of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire. The capital of this country was Turin since 1563, after having been Chambéry until that date[48]. Prince Eugene, a Parisian, had first offered his services to the French who had refused a command post for him. Humiliated, he had then joined the Grande Alliance against France. The Duke of Savoy, having abandoned the cause of Louis XIV, the French Army seized the Savoy and occupied Chablais in 1703. As a result of this War of Spanish Succession, Sardinia will be granted to the Duke of Savoy-Piedmont who will

[48] Historical detail having nothing to do with our subject: the Saint-Suaire (the Holy Shroud) which was exhibited in Chambéry until the year 1563, was transferred to the new capital Turin (Torino) from that date.

thus become King of Piedmont-Sardinia. But let us not anticipate.

***Portugal**. First favorable to the French, the King of Portugal, *Peter II*, joined the Grande Alliance on May 6th, 1703, under the influence of England, which offered him *seven cities to recover from Spain*. It is questionable whether Charles III of Habsburg, the candidate of Austria, would have thus agreed to give these *seven cities* taken on his own Spanish heritage, in the event that the Allies have won War. But, in any case, Peter was not disappointed since he did not survive this War. He died in Lisbon of a stroke, in 1706. As for the seven cities promised, they were never taken.

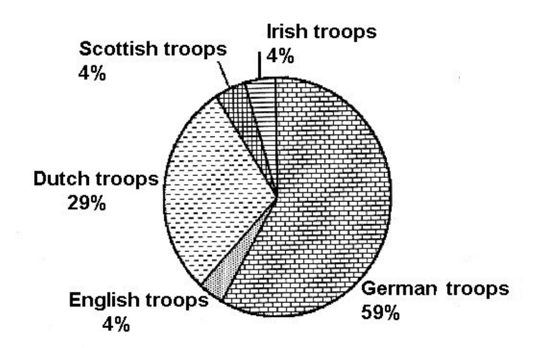
***Catalonia** wanted to build on this War to acquire some autonomy within the Kingdom of Spain. This country too was, totally forgotten by its English allies.

***The Republic of Venice**, which was emerging from its *Morea War* against the Ottoman Empire, for its part, observed a cautious neutrality.

Military operations

As soon as the curtain rose on this tragedy, at the opening of the War (in 1702), one of the essential actors left the stage to be replaced by another. King William III of England (William of Orange) died of a fall from a horse. The King is dead; Long live the Queen Anne Stuart. Queen Anne of England had been born in London on February 6th, 1665; so she was 37 years old at the open-

ing of the war. She was the second daughter of the Scottish Catholic King. James II of England[49], was crowned at the same time King of Scotland under the name of Jacques VII. One might therefore have expected a change of policy of England, banker of the War against France, and the main beneficiary. But this was not the case, for, in spite of her parents' Catholic faith, Anne had been *secretly* educated to the Anglican doctrine by those around him[50]. As a result, the History of England calls this War: Queen Ann's War.



Breakdown of Allied troops at the Battle of Blenheim

[49] James (Jacques) II of England died in exile on September 16th, 1701 in Saint-Germain, Yvelines, France. James II was the second son of King Charles I and Henriette of France (daughter of Henri IV).

[50] In 1701, the English Parliament passed the *Establishment Act*, which prohibited the accession of a Catholic King to England. This discriminatory ban is still in force in England in 2009. Therefore, in the 21st Century, Prime Minister Tony Blair had to wait until he finished his public career to declare himself a Catholic. Curiously, the 17 children that Queen Anne gave birth, died in infancy, so that, on Anne's death in 1714, the Crown of England passed to the Protestant Elector of Hanover, George, linked to the Stuarts by a daughter of James the Ist. George became King of England in 1714 under the name of George I. It would be interesting to know if these early deaths were not caused by those who inherited the throne.

Religion was not a determining factor in the formation of the European Grande Alliance which coalesced against France. Indeed, if England was of Protestant sensibility like most of the states of the Holy Roman Empire[51], Austria, Portugal, Savoy, were Catholic. In front of them, France, and incidentally, Bavaria and Spain also remained Catholic. The root causes were, therefore, essentially economic, because one could fear that one country, too much powerful politically and militarily, can impose to others its supremacy in a commercial matter. England had lost, to the benefit of France, its economic privileges over Spanish territories, advantages traditionally granted to England by the Habsburgs. And England was, as we have said, the soul of the Grande Alliance. This is one of the essential elements that will condition the end of the War.

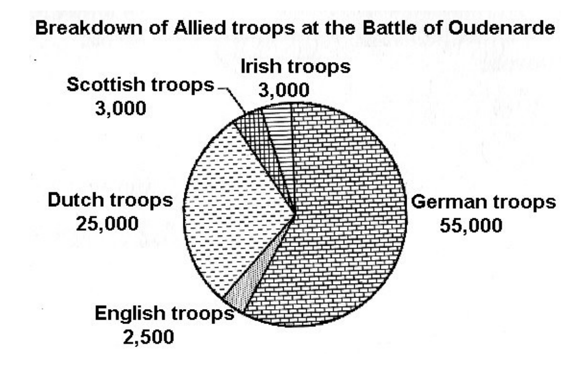


The opening military operations, in 1702, date to which the Grande Alliance declared War on France, gave success to the French who fought alone against all Europe. The armies of the Allies were distinguished by the names of *Confederates*[52] and *Imperials*. In mid-June

[51] One of the consequences of the Thirty Years' War had been that each State of the Holy Roman Empire had to endorse the religion of its monarch.

[52] The *Confederate Army*, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough for the English part and by the Prince of Orange or by Ouwerkerke for the Dutch part, was composed by the Dutch forces, and the British forces to which had been added many German mercenary battalions. The *Imperials*

1702, in *Cranenburg* the Anglish and the Dutch were defeated by the French in a vanguard combat. In August-September, the Royal Navy wiped a stinging failure in front of Cadiz. The same month[53], in *Hochtel* (Netherlands), even though the Anglo-Dutch repelled the French, the disagreement between the Duke of Marlborough and the Dutch General saved the day for the French. On September 3rd, 1702, in *Santa Martha* in the West Indies, a squadron of the Royal Navy suffers another failure in the face of the Marine Royale.



In September-October, the Anglo-Allies lost the fortress of *Stevenswaert*. Even more, that same month in October, the Anglo-Imperials suffered a defeat at *Friedlingen* and had 35 flags taken by the French. In *Vigo*, on October 22nd, 1702, a Spanish *Plata Flota* loaded with precious metal, under French escort, was captured despite a furious fight. This success allowed Admiral Rooke to restore his image after his failures off *Cadiz*

were the forces of the Holy Roman Empire (German-speaking countries) commanded by Prince Eugène of Savoy.

[53] August 1702.

against the French[54]. However, Vigo awakened powerful frustrations on the part of the Dutch who had fought as lions but only got the congruous portion in silver *coins of* 8 [*real de a ocho* or *peso*].

The Allies trembled in November 1702, when the Duke of Marlborough, who wanted to spend the winter in England, was almost captured by the French at Guèldre on the Meuse. He had to lie like a fugitive to get out of trouble. Instead of fighting for the prince-general, his English cavalry escort remained cautiously concealed all night.

The year 1703 was also prosperous for the French who took more fortresses[55] than they lost[56], and won the battle of *Spire,* which led to the fall of *Landau*. In Ingolstadt, Marlborough wanted "*Bavaria to suffer further devastation more extended even than the previous ones*" in order to punish the Bavarians whose Prince-Elector had chosen the side with the French. But in his choice, the Elector had not cared about the opinion of his subjects! The Margrave[57], more humane, opposed it. Finally, after being hypocritically accused by Marlborough of pro-Bavarian sympathies, the Margrave, who wanted to clear himself of all suspicion, submitted: 60 Anglo-Allied squadrons of Cavalry took on this horrible task. All the towns and villages of Bavaria were destroyed, and the

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[54] Coat of arms which was tarnished again at the naval *battle of Velez Malaga* on August 24th, 1704.

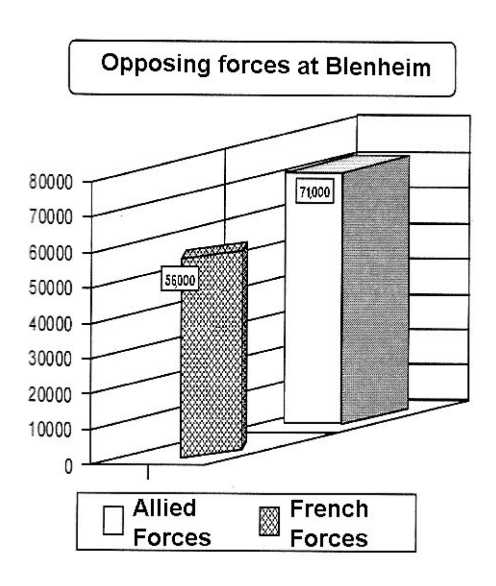
[55] In particular Kehl, Tongres, Vieux-Brisach, Landau ...

[56] Huy and Bonn.

[57] Margrave> from German *Markgraf* which means a Count of the Border, or Marches, in the Holy Roman Empire. Prince Louis Guillaume de Baden was Margrave from 1655 to 1707. He fought in Vienna [1683], Nissa, [1689], Salankamen [1691], Belgrade [1688] and Friedlingen [1702] where he was defeated by Villars. In all he carried out 25 sieges and fought 13 battles.

civilian populations were massacred, raped, or forced to flee into inaccessible forests.

This cruel destruction of innocent populations was to punish and ruin Elector Wittelsbach, in accordance with the well-known adage that "when the Greats fight, the Little ones suffer."



The year 1704 begins with a winter raid on snowshoes. The Canadians launched in February a winter raid against *Deerfield*, a city of New England, for a response to the Iroquois raids sponsored by the Fur Companies of New-England. Port-Royal-d'Acadie was taken by the Anglo-American on June 20th. In August, at *Blenheim*[58], the 56,000 soldiers of *the army of the Two Crowns Fran-*

[58] Also called *Battle of Hochstadt.*

co-Bavarian, were defeated by the 71,000 Allies (German, English, Prussian, Danish, Austrian, Dutch...) commissioned by Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan, by John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough, and Louis of Baden. This is the Duke of Marlborough's first true estocade (blow) to Louis XIV he hated so much.

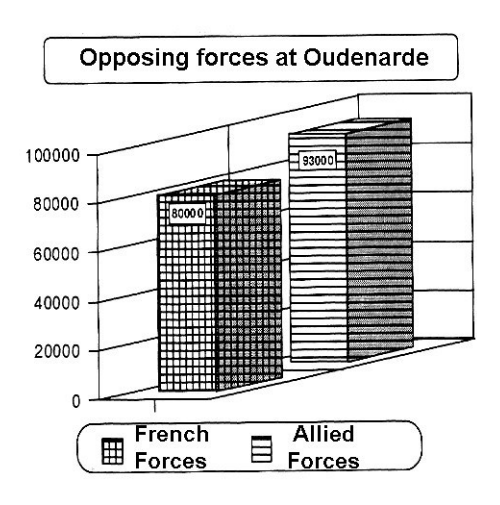
More importantly, England took advantage of the Spanish Civil War to have the strategic place of *Gibraltar* seized by German soldiers, officially on behalf of the King of Spain Charles III, who never reigned. On August 24th, 1704, in *Velez-Malaga*, English Admiral Rooke's squadron fled and left the battlefield to the French after nine hours of naval combat. He will be discreetly disgraced by Queen Anne of England. In Portugal, the French seized the fortresses of *Castel-de-Vide* and *Portalegre*, garrisoned by Anglo-Allied soldiers.

The year 1705 was fairly balanced in its strategic results. But 1706 suggested a greater weariness, more sensitivity among the French people who were fighting against all of Europe. Conversely, the generals, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, fully focused on tactical and strategic play, were ready to fight up to the last soldier, to the last mercenary to adorn themselves with the bloody mantle of Glory. The famous Canadian privateer *Le Moyne d'Iberville* who just retook the Hudson Bay from the English during the War of the League of Augsburg[59], campaigned in the West Indies, where he won several victories. These were almost the only successes of France in that pessimistic year.

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[59] We will see later how, again, the French diplomats were going to lose in their antechambers what the French soldiers had conquered with their blood.

In Spain, the English Duke of Berwick, to whom a French army had been given command because of his catholic religion (?!?!) was defeated at *Brozas* and failed to take the fortress of *Barcelona*. At the famous *Battle of Ramillies*, on May 23rd, 1706, the Allied armies of Marlborough, Ouwerkerke (Holland), and the Duke of Württemberg (the Danes) defeated a Franco-Bavarian Army[60].



In Flanders, the Franco-Spanish garrisons of *Ostend* and *Menin*[61], capitulated under the assault of an Allied army (85,000 men including a Cover Army of 50,000 men). At Tournai, on the other hand, the French captured

[60] In total 75,000 Allied soldiers including a little less than 2,000 English, 4,000 Scots and 3,000 Irish. The rest of the Allied troops were made up of Dutch, Prussians, and Danes, with 120 guns. The Franco-Bavarian army known as the Two Crowns and the Spaniards totaled 58,000 men, with artillery of 68 guns.

[61] Around 4000 soldiers.

the English *brigadier general* Cadogan[62] during a general fodder[63].

In the spring of 1707, the Allies showed their willingness to pursue their advantage. A triple invasion was planned by the Anglo-Dutch Confederates to divide the forces of the French that were already in numerical inferiority: a double invasion by the North −Marlborough invading Picardy and the Duke of Hanover Lorraine− and the third by the South. The taking of a good port (Toulon) would serve as a southern bridgehead, and it was believed that it would drain Spain of its French troops, which would run to the rescue of Toulon. In addition, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, master of part of Italy, wanted to add Provence to his own heritage and generously offered the Dauphiné to the Duke of Savoy. Thus, Louis XIV quickly realized that, as soon as he showed some weaknesses, the other monarchs, enticed, were preparing to happily dismember France.

Victor-Amédée of Savoy and Prince Eugene conceived the bold plan to invade the County of Nice, cross the Var and raise the Languedoc where the Camisards[64]

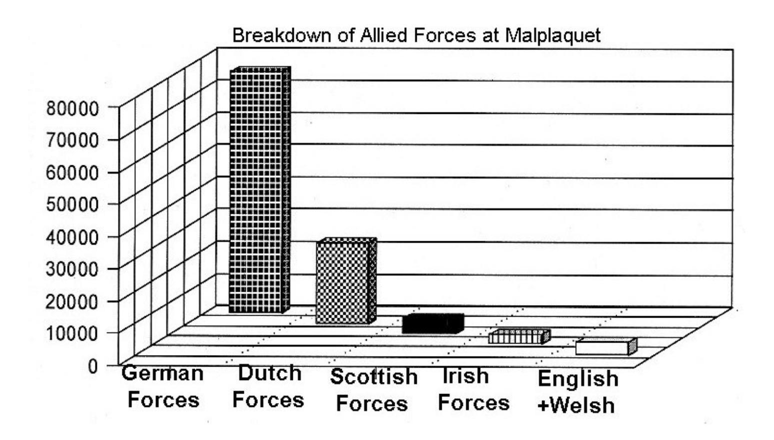
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[62] William I Earl Cadogan (1675-1726) was an Anglo-Protestant lord of Ireland of distant Welsh origin.

[63] The *fodder (le fourrage)* was a commando operation, a raid, which consisted of going to collect fodder in enemy territory, either to deprive the enemy's horses of fodder and starve them, or to provide oneself with fodder. The fodder could be set on fire. The best foragers were rewarded with a *fourragère* (*shoulder lanyard*) symbolizing the strings which were used to tie the sheaves of fodder. By metonymy, the fodder has come to designate any commando operation.

[64] *Camisards*: Cevennes Calvinists who fought against the administration and the armies of Louis XIV after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes [1685]. The Camisards revolt began in 1702, encouraged by the agents of the King of England William of Orange then by Queen Anne. They were so named because they wore a shirt (camiso in dialect) over their clothes. Their principal leader was Jean Cavalier, second by Rolland, Ravenel, Maurel *dit* Catinat, etc ... The count of Broglie, then the marshal of Montrevel failed against them. Villars, help from the intendant of Lamoignon de Basville, succeeded in subduing them. Less active from 1704, the struggle, alt-

prepared a new insurrection. France thus taken in reverse by this diversion, the attack from the North would be more easily successful. The English from Spain, cleared from French troops of support which would be immobilized in Languedoc to wage War, would thus have a chance to partly re-conquer the Iberian Peninsula.



But not everything happened as precisely as the Allied strategists foresaw it. In Spain, in mid-April, the minuscule French garrison (200 men) of the fortress of *Villeña,* inflicted a stinging defeat on the 33,000 Anglo-Confederates. Moreover, during the *Battle of Almansa,* on April 25th, the French-Spanish Army of 21,000 men[65] defeated the Anglo-Allied Army of 33 000 soldiers sup-

hough still encouraged by the English, lasted until 1713. Louvois then suggested to Louis XIV to inflict persecution on the Camisards. They were called dragonnades: (from dragons: soldiers mounted on horseback were housed in garrison among the Protestants [as among the Catholics who were slow to pay their taxes]. They behaved with such violence that many Camisards were converted, others emigrated. Lamoignon de Basville, steward in the Cevennes, showed himself particularly odious towards the Camisards, who still consider him as their torturer.

[65] 9,000 French Cavalry supported by 12,000 Spanish Infantry.

ported by 30 guns. On the other hand, on May 2nd, the garrison of *Requeña* [1,390 men[66] and 50 horsemen] literally collapsed under an attack by 7,500 German, English and Spanish miquelet soldiers[67], reinforced with 20 artillery guns.

In Acadia, Canadians and Acadians, always at the forefront of boldness despite the lack of support from their mother country, took *Port-Royal* back from the English. In mid-May, another piece of good news came for the French; a French naval division of the Marine Royale had attacked an English convoy at *Beachy Head*, May 13th. The Royal Navy escort fled, leaving the French to seize 22 precious ships. And as if the fighting spirit was weakening in the Royal Navy, the fleet was going to suffer another disaster off *Cape Lizard*, on October 21st of the same year, the French seized this time a convoy still more precious: 15 troop transport ships, in addition to the ships of War of the Royal Navy. As a result, the Expeditionary Force in Portugal received no reinforcements and had to remain on the defensive in the Iberian Peninsula. This was what the English still call *the Disaster of the Convoy of Portugal*. The French seized the fortress of *Xàtiva* and its region, then the fortress of *Alcira*.

In August-September, the invasion of the South of France finally began, planned for the beginning of the year. It was destined, like said above, not only to drain the French troops out of Spain but also to dismember France from its eccentric or peripheral provinces. A huge

66 Including 50 French soldiers.
67 Catalan soldiers of light Infantry, more or less irregular.

Anglo-Batavian fleet concentrated 70 ships, of which 50 of the line. The fearsome Landing Corps was bristling with 120 guns and supported, of course, by the thousands of pieces of naval artillery. The ships were overloaded with an impressive siege equipment to seize Toulon, a powerful naval base. A total of 40,000 Anglo-Dutch Confederate soldiers were to face the 20,000 French soldiers. The siege of Toulon began immediately but was a complete failure for the Allies. Strategically speaking, according to Sir Winston Churchill[68], this immense English naval effort against Toulon was a mere weakening of the English presence in other oceans to protect English trade.

Never as much as in 1707, the English fleet of War was busier at military operations and neglected as much *the surveillance of the English sea routes*. So, in that specific year, 1100 merchant ships from London were taken by the French or sent to the bottom. During the same year, the French cruisers attacked three large trade convoys, capturing, sinking or forcing the escort warships to flee. In Spain, the long siege of *Lerida* also ended to the credit of the French, as well as that of *Tortosa*, at the end of the year 1707. The Anglo-Allies were quite demoralized from all their defeats[69].

The year 1708 began in anxiety for the Allies who feared that they would never be able to overcome the French. They were not wrong, but for a reason other than

[68] Churchill, in *Marlborough, his Life and Times*, see Bibliography *in fine*.

[69] In 1707, the *Act of Union* dissolved the English and Scottish Parliaments by creating the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. For all practical purposes, England had thus annexed Scotland.

military, as we will see later. They planned to increase the strength of the Allied Armies. Despite their best efforts, the fortress of *Leffinghe* fell on June 24th in the hands of the French with its garrison**[70]** as well as £1,500,000 and 1,200 barrels of gunpowder. These two ingredients are, of course, intended to feed the War. The garrison of *Bruges*[71] capitulated on June 6th to the French on a single summon. Very intimidating, it must be admitted, the French general de La Mothe threatened to burn and ransack the city. The English evacuated without a fight, and the French returned the city to a Spanish garrison. But this city occupation did not last. On December 31st, Marlborough summoned the Spanish governor Grimaldi (by letter) to evacuate Bruges. The next day, January 1st,1709, around 20:00, Grimaldi and his Spanish garrison evacuated Bruges. On January 4th, the Allies occupied the city under the Duke of Marlborough.

The bad days of Blenheim seemed forgotten to the French when, on July 11th, 1708, at *Oudenarde*, the 80,000 soldiers of Marshal Vendôme, general in chief of the French Army, and of the Duke of Burgundy, his noble underling, who commanded half of the French troops, attacked the 93,000 Dutch, Prussian and English of the Allied Army. From this number, the English totaled 3000 soldiers (3.3% of the Allied Army, to which were added 4000 Irish (4.7%) and 5000 Scots (5.8%). Marlborough and Prince Eugene had 30 battalions (15,000) and 40 squadrons (4000) upstream and downstream of the Scheldt (L'Escaut). General Heyden commanded 40 bat-

[70] An allied garrison of 800 English and 400 Dutch.

[71] 3 English battalions, 4 Danish battalions, and 16 Danish Cavalry squadrons.

talions (20,000) and 60 squadrons (6,000) between Leie and the river. Downstream, between the river and the Sasse Canal, stationed 20 Infantry battalions (10,000) and 30 squadrons of Cavalry (3000) commanded by the Dutch Generals Van Lottum and Dompêche. To the west of the Sasse Canal, were concentrated 20 Infantry battalions (10,000 men) and 50 squadrons of Cavalry[72] under the command of the Elector of Hesse-Kassel.

The battle of Oudenarde was a real carnage. But the drama was played even more at the French General Staff where Louis the XIV had had the absurd idea of naming the Duke of Burgundy (a man of very high Nobility) in a position subordinate to that of the General-in-Chief, Marshal Vendôme, a commoner of much lower social status. The Duke of Burgundy accepted the post but, knowing that he was untouchable because of his high birth, refused to obey Vendôme, who was not a member of the Nobility. Burgundy decided to take revenge on Vendôme by playing a bad joke on him. When Vendôme ordered him to bring in his 35,000 men on the battlefield, the latter refused with contempt, forcing Vendôme's 45,000 men to fight alone against the 93,000 Allies. Burgundy preferred that his country loses a battle rather than seeing his rival glorified by a victory[73]. At the end of the battle, more than 9,000 soldiers were piling up on the hotspots of the battlefield. Thus unfolded the little revenge of Burgundy.

[72] 5,000 men.

[73] Prince Eugene will say of the Due de Bourgogne: "We must use blood princes soberly; for a Conde in Rocroi, or a Gaston de Foix in Ravenne, we find ignorant people like the Dauphin or the Due de Bourgogne.

Every nation had suffered heavy losses except England, for, despite the harsh criticisms of the other Allied generals, the Duke of Marlborough had ordered, as usual, that his English regiments remain in *tactical reserve*, in back positions, out of range of French guns. Thus Marlborough, very parsimonious with English blood, was able to write on July 12th to his wife: "I give thanks to the Almighty in that the English had fewer casualties than all the others.**[74]**..." England, which paid a high price with its gold, refused in return for also paying with his blood. As a result, even the great killings of Malplaquet, in 1709, did not shake the morale of Queen Anne and her people. Sir Winston Churchill**[75]** admits it frankly on page 646 of the biography of his ancestor Marlborough: "Even the massacre of Malplaquet did not affect the Queen, nor, in truth, his people, with as much intensity as the Tory party had hoped**[76]**". British troops were few in number and their losses were small, proportionately.

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[74] Camp at Oudenarde, July 12th, 1708.: "I have neither spirits nor time to answer your last three letters; this being to bring the good news of a battle we had yesterday, in which it pleased God to give us, at last, the advantage. Our foot on both sides having been all engaged has occasioned much blood; but I thank God the English have suffered less than any of the other troops; none of our English horse having been engaged. I do, and you must, give thanks to God for His goodness in protecting and making me the instrument of so much happiness to the Queen and nation, if she will please to make use of it. Sir Winston Churchill, Marlborough, his Life and Times, University of Chicago Press, p. 382. This phenomenon has continued until modern times. We can thus understand why English historians never set out in their works the number of English deaths without drowning it in the number of the United Kingdom and even that of the British Empire as a whole. If we compare the streets of the 1st World War, we can see that the percentage of deaths in England taken in isolation (6.46%) is very low compared to those in others (Scotland 27.89%; Ireland 23%; Wales 30.03%; Australia 18.70%; New Zealand 18%; ...). We can see that, by this ruse, the generals of the British Army (who generally were English) saved the blood of the English soldiers by shedding that of Canadians, Australians and other British who were placed in the front line alongside the French (whose fatalities were also enormous: 17.95%), while the English regiments remained behind, far from the German guns.

[75] «Even the slaughter of Malplaquet did not affect the Queen, nor, indeed, her people, as deeply as might have been hoped by the Tories. British troops had been few, and their losses comparatively small. It was the Dutch, the Prussians, and the mercenaries whom England set in motion and directed who had shed their blood. The British casualties at Malplaquet had been under eighteen hundred.» Churchill. p.646.

[76] Apparently, the Tories were hoping for huge English losses to upset the population.

ANNEX

KILLED IN ACTION - SOLDIERS DURING WW1 (Source Encyclopedia Britannica)					
	Population	mobilized	% mobilized	Killed in action	% killed
Canada	7.200.000	620.000	8,60%	66.940	10,8%
Australia	4.500.000	331.000	7,35%	61.928	18,7%
NewZealand	1.100.000	100.000	9%	18.050	18%
Scotland	4.748.167	527.000	11,9%	147.000	27,89%
Ireland	4.300.000	210.000	4.88%	49.400	23.52%
Wales	1.200.000	133.200	11,10%	40.000	30,03%
India	315.000.000	1.000.000	0,31%	74.187	7.42
South-Africa	6.000.000		9463		
England	36.070.492	4.003.824	11,1%	258.676	6.46%
France	*39.000.000*	*9.000.000*	*23%*	*1.615.800*	*17,95%*

The Dutch, the Prussians, and the [German] mercenaries, that England had raised, paid for, and commanded, were those who had shed their blood. It has been noted that during the two World Wars, the English generals used the same stratagem with soldiers of the British Empire. Canadians, New Zealanders, South-Africans, and Indians were placed in dangerous areas to spare the blood of purely English soldiers. British losses[77] at Malplaquet had amounted to 1800," including 350 English, 750 Irish, and as many Scots.

In the previous year, 1708, the defeat of Oudenarde opened France to looting. Vendôme wanted to attack the Allies, but the Duke of Burgundy again opposed it[78]. Lille was besieged and taken by the Allies on December 10th, 1708, and the Balearic Islands taken from the Spanish Bourbons.

[77] Definition of the English word *casualtie*s - a member of the armed forces who can no longer perform his service due to death, injury, illness, capture or for unknown reasons: disappearance or desertion.

[78] When Vendôme proposed to attack the Anglo-Allies, the Duc de Bourgogne, who, by his criminal incompetence, had provoked the defeat of Oudenarde, replied coldly: “Impossible, I sent my grandfather [Louis XIV] a letter to find out if he wanted it.” Class rivalries.



Official negotiations in The Hague (1709)

Oudenarde put Louis XIV in a difficult situation. The Blenheim (Hôchstett) disaster in 1705 had forced the French to abandon Germany. In 1706, the Battle of Ramillies drove the French out of Northern Italy (Valtelina) and out of the Spanish (or Catholic) Netherlands[79]. In 1708, despite multiple successes, Oudenarde forced the French Army into an increasingly defensive war. France was in a severe economic slump. The War had been going on for more than six years and, for the first time the enemy entered the kingdom: the Imperial (Germanic) troops and the Royal Navy besieged Toulon. Lille, French for 40 years, was stormed by the Allies. Famine was not only lurking in France but among all the belligerents.

In 1708, Louis XIV in difficulty was forced to offer a compromise to Europe. The Allies refused unanimously, for the sole purpose of humiliating Louis XIV. To the great joy of all the Kings of the Grande Alliance,

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[79] The Netherlands were divided along the religious line. The Protestant north had formed the United Provinces (present-day Holland), and the Netherlands, which remained under Spanish control, were Catholic mansions (present-day Belgium). The Habsburg Netherlands had fully become Spanish by the Pragmatic Sanction of 1549 and the abdication of Charles V on January 16th, 1556. The Spanish Netherlands were originally the territories possessed by the Kings of Spain between the sixteenth century and the eighteenth century. Today they correspond approximately to Belgium (except for the Principality of Liege), Luxembourg, the present-day Netherlands, as well as part of the French Nord-Pas-de-Calais. In 1581, the Seven Provinces with a Protestant majority, located in the north of the Netherlands abjured the King and constituted the United Provinces. The ten Catholic provinces remained under the control of the Crown of Spain.

the greatness of Louis XIV seemed compromised. And when he asked to negotiate peace, the coalition, dazzled by their successive victories[80] and believing the French on their knees, became excessive.

The Marquis de Torcy[81] and Rouillé[82] went to The Hague in 1709 and were notified by Marlborough, Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan, and Heinsius of the United Provinces, a series of *Forty Articles* that the Allies intended to impose to the French as *Preliminarie*s only. In the absence of the signature of the French, *within sixty days*, the Allies would cancel all truce, all suspension of arms, the War would continue as total as before. The European coalition aspired to humiliate the *Roi Soleil*, who tended to rule Europe as his backyard.

According to these *Preliminaries,* Louis XIV would be in the obligation to withdraw his support for Philip V, and, *if the latter refused, he was required to take charge of depositing his own grandson by sending him the French Army*. The conditions imposed on France were draconian and unacceptable. The King of France, who recklessly threw France into *a dead-end without*

[80] Blenheim, Ramillies and Oudenarde.

[81] Colbert, Jean-Baptiste (Marquis de Torcy), *Memoires de Monsieur de Torcy, to serve as a history of negotiations from the Treaty of Ryswyck [Ryswick] to the Peace of Utrecht*, Nourse & Vaillant, Printer, London, 1757. 3 vol.

[82] It is about Pierre Rouillé de Marbeuf, Ambassador Extraordinary to Portugal in 1697. Rouillé could not prevent the signing of the Treaty of Methuen, of which we spoke above. As a result, he was recalled in 1703. Subsequently, Louis XIV sent Rouillé to Brussels with Maximilien-Emmanuel, Elector of Bavière and governor of the Spanish Netherlands. His knowledge of Spanish affairs made him designated to negotiate with the Grand-Pensionnaire Heinsius in 1705. He, therefore, participated in the pursuit of the Hague Conferences in 1709. He died in 1712. He was the father of a man who touched us more: Antoine-Louis Rouillé, Count de Jouÿ (1689-1761) who became Secretary of State of the Navy in 1749, Minister of State from 1754 to 1758, and Secretary of State to Foreign Affairs from 1754 to 1757. It was in his honor that Fort Rouillé was named, a trading fort that would become the giant city of Toronto on the north shore of Lake Ontario.

exit, tried to awaken a "national" burst against the enemy. He did appeal to French opinion in a speech read from the pulpit by all parish priests of the nation.

•*Article 6* of the *Preliminaries* stated: "The Monarchy of Spain shall remain, in its entirety, in the House of Austria, without any part thereof ever being dismembered, or the said Monarchy, in whole or in part, be united with that of France, nor that one and the same King, nor a prince of the House of France, become the sovereign, in any way whatsoever: by testament deeds, succession, matrimonial agreements, gifts, sales, contracts, and other means, whatever they may be, nor that the prince who will reign in France, nor a prince of the House of France, may ever reign in Spain, nor acquire, within the extent of the so-called Monarchy, no strongholds, squares or countries, in no part of this country, mainly in the Netherlands[83], by virtue of certain donation, sales, exchanges, matrimonial agreements, appeals, succession by will or *ab intestate*[84], in some way and manner that it can be, both for him or for the princes, his children and brothers, their heirs and descendants.» We feel the moral torture of forensic jurists desperately trying to plug all doors, to provide for all possible subterfuges from the French, so that they are in no way able to circumvent this prohibition. Besides:

•France was to recognize Archduke Charles of Austria as King of Spain and of the Spanish Empire.

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[83] The Spanish Netherlands, of course.
[84] Latin expression meaning "in the absence of a will".

•The French Duc d'Anjou, the current King Philip V of Spain, had the obligation to evacuate immediately Spain, Sicily and all territories subject to the Spanish Crown.

•The French were to return to the Holy Roman-Germanic Emperor the fortresses of Strasbourg, Vieux-Brisach, Landau, as well as Alsace as a whole.

•The French also had to yield to the United Provinces (to Holland) the fortresses of Cassel, Lille, Tournai, Condé, and other Flanders fortresses to reinforce the *Strategic Barrier* against the French.

With Article 6, we were already far from the allied demands of 1701, who only wanted to maintain the separation of the two French and Spanish monarchies. On May 28th, 1709, in The Hague, rejuvenated by their military victories, the Allies demanded that Austria recovered the whole of the Spanish Monarchy and the total exclusion of French princes, even those who could obtain the throne of Spain by marriage. It was a refinement in the exclusion. "To exclude a Bourbon ascending the throne of Spain as, not heir of the two Queens, but as the husband of an Infanta, it was necessary to prohibit anything other than the accumulation of crowns, it was necessary to exclude the whole race, for no other political reason than a derisory distrust, and, to tell the truth, in hatred of blood and name...

The real motives of The Hague's Propositions were not prudence, which is always moderated, but hatred, which is extreme and absurd... France would have been excluded from the common law in a candidacy for the

Spanish Crown open to all Europe[85]!" It was certainly not what was understood in the partition treaty of March 25th, 1700, limited to excluding the King of the Romans[86] and the Dauphin of France. Those Draconian measures would restore the *Empire of Charles V* and the perpetual threat to France by *total encirclement*, since England was, apparently in any case, making common cause with Germany and it would do so until the turn of the twentieth century(±1890), when the German Empire would become threatening against Great Britain, and that the terror of a German invasion[87] pushes it to ally with France against William's IInd Reich and then Hitler's IIIrd Reich. "It was the lowering of France that we were for, by excluding the House of France. And it is even claimed that the dominant party[88] in England had the foolish hope to dethrone Louis XIV and share our provinces[89]... But Louis XIV always refused to join his efforts with those of the coalition, to force Philip V to evacuate Spanish territory. The Allies insisted on this exorbitant demand with all the more of stubbornness that they had already conceived the plan to conquer the Kingdom of France[90]."

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85 Giraud, Charles, *Le Traite d'Utrecht*, Communication & tradition, 94-Le Plessis-Trevise, 1997. p. 74

86 7That is to say, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

87 Terror carefully maintained by novels such as: *The Tale of the Next Great War, 1871-1914* or *The Great War with Germany, 1890-1914*, by Ignatius Frederick Clarke. They showed the German armies invading England. killing, raping, brutalizing and robbing the English populations. Clarke was secretly encouraged by the Royal Navy who wanted huge budgets for the shipbuilding of dreadnoughts, large heavily armed breastplates ships.

88 Whigs Party.

89 Let us not forget that since the Hundred Years War, the kings and queens of England have carried the title of *King of France*. They will wear it until 1802, Treaty of Amiens, when they cease to display the fleur-de-lis in their coat of arms.

90 Giraud, Charles, Le Traite d'Utrecht, Communication & tradition, 94-Le Plessis-Trévise, 1997. p. 76

Article 4 of these *Preliminaries* stated: "And all the more that the Duke of Anjou is currently in possession of a large part of the Kingdoms of Spain[91], the coasts of Tuscany, the Indies[92] and of part of the Netherlands, it has been reciprocally agreed that, to ensure the implementation of the said Articles and of the Treaties to be made and to complete within two months, starting from the first of next June, if possible, His Très-Chrétienne Majesty[93] ensure that, in the same term, the Kingdom of Sicily is handed over to His Catholic Majesty[94], Charles III"; and the said Duke d'Anjou will come out in full security and freedom from the extent of the kingdoms, and generally all persons who wish to follow them, so that, if the said term ends without the said Duke of Anjou consenting to the execution of this Convention, the *Most Christian* King and the Princes and States Will take appropriate measures together to ensure the whole effect[95]".

Thus the Allies demanded that peace be made before the expiry of the two months during which the armistice would last, and the final terms of peace remained undetermined at their will; Louis XIV had to convince, during this time, his grandson to descend from the throne, and if the latter refused, the King was to take, together with his enemies, the appropriate measures to ensure the

[91] Torcy, Marquis de, Colbert, Jean-Baptiste, Memoires de Monsieur de Torcy, to serve as a history of negotiations from the Treaty of Rysuryck [Ryswick] to the Peace of Utrecht, Nourse & Vaillant, Printer, London, 1757. 3 vol., Vol.III, Part III. pp. 76 and following.

[92] Let us recall again that the Indies represented the rest of the world more or less known, apart from Europe and Africa. The Indies which you reached by sailing towards the West were the West Indies (i.e., the Americas), and those where you went by skirting Africa and going towards the East, the East Indies (the Indies proper, Southeast Asia and Cathay or China.

[93] Nickname of the King of France.

[94] Nickname of the King of Spain.

[95] Giraud, Charles, *Le Traité d'Utrecht*, Communication & tradition, 94-Le Plessis-Trévise, 1997. p. 77.

effect of the conventions. That is, he had to join his weapons with those of the Allies to dethrone his grandson. Those requirements were absolutely absurd, and the Allies knew well that the French would never accept[96]." Pending this result, the French had to evacuate the strongholds of Flanders and the Spanish Netherlands. The desire for extreme humiliation envisioned even to force the French not only to evacuate the Spanish territory, but to oblige the French to force, *by violence*, the Spanish Army to accept the Austrian King. It was the height of perversion and *we felt there an implacable hatred of Prince Eugene against King Louis XIV who had refused to entrust him with his armies.*

The 37th *Article* mentioned: "In case the King Très-Chrétien executes what has been said above, and that the whole monarchy of Spain be returned and ceded to the said King Charles III, in the term stipulated, it was granted that the transfer of arms between the armies of the High parties at war will continue until the conclusion and the ratification of the peace treaties to be made."

Monsieur de Torcy returned to Versailles with the unacceptable conditions from the Allies. The French immediately broke the Hague Conference. The King of France immediately sent a circular to all its provincial governors to let them know that he had made peace proposals to which the Allies had responded arrogantly. Ac-

[96] As the *Dépêche d'Ems*, 162 years later, which was a provocative notice from Prussia to France. It was the *casus belli* of the Franco-German War of 1870. These unacceptable conditions recall too those of the English Force H which came to Mers-el-Kébir (1940) to demand the French squadron to capitulate. It can be seen as a ploy to force the enemy to fight and be destroyed when in a weak position.

cording to Saint-Simon[97], *there was in France a great cry of indignation and revenge.* "If I have to do the war on my family, it is to the enemy that I will make it." repeated the King of France. And his grandson, Philip, King of Spain, added in echo: "I will only leave Spain with life." To keep their golden Crown, the two kings seemed determined to fight until the last Frenchman and the last Iberian. The King and Queen of Spain had even "unanimously resolved to embark & to transfer, if they were forced to do so, their stay and the seat of the Spanish Monarchy in the West Indies[98]."

France was equally obliged to yield to the Holy Roman-Germanic Emperor, Strasbourg, Brisach, Landau and Alsace, as well as Cassel, Lille, Tournai, Condé and other cities of the French Flanders in the Netherlands. "The arrogance of his enemies, swollen with their successes, made useless the advances that His Majesty made for peace. Everyone knew that they wanted Spain to be handed over to them[99]. They refused to deal without this essential condition which they only named *Preliminaries*, while the Catholic King, firm to maintain himself on his throne, though without strength, rejected any proposal[100]."

1709. The War thus resumed more terrible than ever. On the battlefields, the fortress of *Alicante*, Spain, besieged since November by the French, fell into their hands on April 18th, 1709. Exceptionally[101], the British military

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[97] Louis de Rouvroy, due de Saint-Simon, 1675-1755, Mémoires, Adolphe Cheruel, 1858.

[98] Torcy, Page 2. Similarly, the Portuguese Monarchy moved to Brazil during the First French Empire to escape French occupation.

[99] They wanted to impose their own candidate for the throne of Spain

[100] Morel-Fatio, pp. 232-234

[101] The so-called *Test Act* [or *Abjuration Oath*] was not abolished until the 19th century in England and the colonies. According to this iniquitous law, Catholics had to renounce transubstantiation in order to obtain an administrative or political office, or simply to be educated in a university.

Governor of Alicante, the Major-General Michael John Richards was not a *die-hard* Protestant as usual in these times of intolerance, but an English Catholic, of this religion so despised in England, where Voltaire will believe soon —or will feign to believe— that he had found a model of tolerance. This Catholic major-general, who until then had concealed his faith for moving up in rank in the English Army, had proved to be a real godsend in Spain because the English government wanted to please Spanish Catholics for political purposes. Within the Corps of French Huguenots which was fighting for England in Spain (since it is always necessary that half of the French Nation make a pact with the enemy for religious or political reasons[102], the lieutenant-colonel de La Fabrique commanded the Dragons, the Brigadier Vimare was at the head of the Infantry.

The English garrison of Alicante could clearly hear, when straining their ears, the French sappers who were digging a mine under the fortress. They expected from one moment to the next the gigantic explosion of 75 tons of French gunpowder under the walls, which was going to bury them in death. They hoped that an English Navy squadron would come to relieve them before the explosion. But this was not the case. Despite the repeated

Even though this law has now disappeared, its spirit remains in force, which is why in the 21st century, Prime Minister Tony Blair had to wait until he had finished his public career to declare himself a Catholic.

[102] In the Middle Ages the provinces of France attached to England supplied most of the soldiers who fought against the King of France (thus at the Battle of Poitiers, September 19th, 1356, the so-called English Army totaled 12,000 men; including 8 000 Gascons and 4000 English settlements (English historians avoid mentioning it to make it a strictly English victory). Then it was the Reformation and the expelled Huguenots, then it was the Nobles emigres. In 1939, the Communists refused to wage War against Hitler (since Stalin had signed a non-aggression pact with him), then it was the Petainists who fought alongside Germany.

summonses and offers from the French who were reluctant to kill the brave Huguenot and English garrison, Catholic Major-General Michael John Richards did not dare to capitulate for fear of being seen as a *papist*, a traitor in the eyes of his Protestant soldiers. At dawn of a last night of anguish that could be the subject of a successful thriller, he went until absolute sacrifice, and Alicante — or what was left of it in the ruins— fell in the hands of the French.

Then the capricious fortune of arms seemed to hesitate between the antagonists, when on September 3rd the fortress of *Tournai* was stormed by all the Allied Forces; but the French garrison of the stronghold of *Saint-Ghislain* resisted and the Allies suffered heavy losses. Shortly after the fall in Alicante in the hands of the French, took place on the border of Portugal the furious battle of *La Caya*: 20,000 Anglo-Portuguese, Spanish regulars and irregular Catalan miquelets, tried unsuccessfully to destroy a small Franco-Spanish army of 2500 men formed as an Infantry hollow square. The French victory of *La Caya* was the last battle of the Campaign of 1709 in Portugal. It had a pernicious effect on peace negotiations between the French and the Anglo-Allies, because it favored the French negotiators. But the culminating, the climax of horror, in this year 1709, was the famous Battle of *Malplaquet*, a nameless bloody butchery.

In this September 11th, the Allied Army (Dutch, Danish, English, and especially German mercenaries) was commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. In principle, Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan ruled the Imperials and Lottum the Prussians and Hanoverians; the prince

of Orange the Dutch. The Marshal de Villars, and the Marshal of Boufflers commanded the French. 120,000 coalitions against 79 000 French. Historical detail: the Irish Brigade who was fighting in the French Army, found himself face to face, by chance, in the wood of Taisnières, with the Royal Irish Regiment (composed of Protestant Colonists settled in Ireland). Their epic combat was ruthlessly ferocious.

Marlborough' tactics[103] remained the same: attack at one point until the extermination of the enemy army. One after the other the beautiful battalions, multicoloured and sparkling, rushed into this bloody meat grinder to finish at the top of the huge hill of dead and dying which the soldiers had to climb with difficulty. At the end of this butchery, the one (Marlborough) who kept some battalions in good condition for planting his flag at the top of the hill of cadavers considered himself the winner. It was a primitive and barbaric tactic. To this end, Marlborough, who, according to his habit, entrusted to the German, Dutch, Scottish, Irish and Danish Battalions the mission of wearing down the French battalions, always kept in *tactical reserve* his English battalions from England which arrived, fresh and ready, and able to brandish

[103] Marlborough's tactic was to concentrate an attrition attack at one point which drained the enemy's forces there and emptied his other positions. When the weakening of these other positions was deemed sufficient, Marlborough attacked and broke them without difficulty. This tactic was only possible for one who had numerically superior manpower, which was the case here, 120,000 Anglo-allies against 79,000 French. This tactic seems to come directly from Chinese theorist Sun Tzu who preached: "I can use all of my strength to attack a fraction of his." I will therefore have numerical superiority. So, if I can use the large numbers to strike a handful of men in the chosen Vendroit, those who have to do with me will find themselves reduced to the last extremity." Sun Tzu, The Art of War, Principle 13, p. 137

the Union Jack[104] for the Glory of England. The massacre of Malplaquet was catastrophic. When the French stopped fighting, nearly 40,000 dead and wounded bodies formed a real hillside at the hottest point. But those who had been begotten and nurtured by the English Fatherland, the English, on the other hand, who did not emerge until after the fighting was over, suffered only 300 killed: they were only English officers (Commissioned Officers) who commanded the Irish, Scottish, or German mercenary battalions. And, as in Oudenarde, the Duke of Marlborough was able to thank God because the English had suffered few losses compared to all the others.

However, the Battle of Malplaquet was for the Allies a *Pyrrhic Victory*[105]. Consequently, both the French and the Allies claimed victory in this battle. In fact, it was for the French *a tactical defeat*, since they did not remain masters of the battlefield, but *a victory on the strategic level* because the immense slaughter of Allied soldiers terrified the world, damaged Marlborough's reputation, the most efficient allied general of the time. It demoralized the Confederates and the Imperials, very disappointed to see that with such a numerical superiority[106], they had not done better against the French.

On the contrary, this battle raised the morale and determination of the French who had not been destroyed

[104] It did not yet include the cross of Saint-Andre, red, which symbolized Ireland. The descendant of Marlborough, the Duke of Wellington, was no less thrifty of English blood, in Waterloo and elsewhere in Spain.

[105] Like the Naval Battle of Jutland in WWI. The Germans achieved a tactical victory since they remained masters of the battlefield, but the British, despite their final flight from the Germans, had enough naval reserves to cover their losses, while the Germans had lost most of their strength. their war fleet.

[106] It was considerable: 120,000 Allies against 79,000 French.

or routed. As a result, the defeat of Malplaquet, paradoxically, marked the beginning of the French recovery. This was the first time in this war that France had more than one hundred guns in the land campaign. Practically, the Allies Confederates and Imperials, who had lost more than a fifth of their armies, only succeeded in seizing the battlefield covered withs corpses and dying people. To see such a butchery again, one will have to wait for the *Battle of the Moskowa*[107] in 1812. "If God grants us the grace to lose another battle like this one, Your Majesty can count on his enemies to be destroyed," Villars ironized in a letter to Louis XIV. He was hardly moved or pitied by the heaps of corpses. Prince Eugene, Marlborough, and Tilly had lost the elite of their Infantry. Marlborough demoralized thus the Confederates and the Imperials, with the exception of the English who had not had any significant human losses.



Official negotiations of Gertruydenberg

(February 1710)

In the face of the massacre of Malplaquet and the French victory at La Caya, the Allies and the French resumed their peace talks in Gertruydenberg. But soon it became clear for the French that, as in The Hague, the Allies' objective was not to make peace but to enjoy the

[107] The Battle of Borodino, in Russia, between the French et the Russians.

humiliation of the *Roi Soleil* who had mortified Europe until then. As soon as the negotiators approved a compromise, the Allies pulled out of their cuffs new requirements to humiliate the French and keep the peace-solution out of reach. Louis XIV, having agreed to withdraw all the help granted to Philip V of Spain, the insatiable plenipotentiaries immediately demanded that the King of France took charge of, either persuading the King of Spain, or compelling him, by his own forces, to renounce the Iberian throne. Nothing had changed since the famous Hague Conference. The Allies granted France a truce of 60 days to succeed in this delicate operation[108].

Outraged by the Allies who wanted to force him to make war to his Grandson, Louis XIV broke off the negotiations and ordered to continue the War. Faced with this adversity, the King of France told the Marshal de Villars: "*You see where we are, defeat or perish. Look for the enemy and give battle!*" The marshal replied: *"Sire, this is your last fight." The King resumed: "If the battle is lost, you will write it to me alone. I will ride a horse and go through Paris, your letter in hand. I know the French people. I will gather two hundred thousand men and I bury myself with them. under the ruins of the Monarchy*." It was grandiose. In order not to lose face, the great Sun King of France was ready to destroy with panache the whole French people in total annihilation, in final suicide. He certainly was not ready to kill himself, alone, like an ordinary commoner.

108 Flassan, (and even Dumont) *Actes et mémoires touchant la paix d'Utrecht*, tome 1, page 128,



So the War continued with rage. In April and May 1710, the fortresses of *Mortagne* and *Douai* fell into the hands of the Allied. Mortagne changed hands several times that year because this fortress was controlling navigation on the Scheldt. The French clung so much to the land, that the capture of Douai cost the Allied the enormous losses of 28,000 men. The French lost 2,500 killed, a third of their garrison. The Allied Campaign was a month late. According to Sir Winston Churchill, Marlborough was extremely affected because English losses were probably a little higher than usual.

In July and August, the siege of the fortress of *Bethune* was also very costly for the besieging Allies. It cost them 3,500 lives, not counting the sick, and the deserters who were extremely numerous. There was a sense that the troops were exhausted to fight in a war that never ended. The taking of this fortress opened to the Allies the possibility of besieging *Aire-sur-la-Lys* and *Saint-Venant*.

From September 6th to November 10th, was *unleashed* the siege of the fortress of Aire-sur-la-Lys. The French lost more than a third of their strength**[109]**, and the Allies 11,000 soldiers. Civilian innocent people were not spared, 627 were killed by the shelling artillery. Aire-sur-

[109] The French losses amounted to 3,000 men.

la-Lys' long resistance prevented the Allies from launching an action against Abbeville, in order to develop a new base of invasion of France. It was too late in the season[110] and the Allied Armies of Prince Eugene and Marlborough had to take their *winter quarters*, as was usual at the time, since the highest Antiquity.

This end of the campaign was an object of criticism against Marlborough in England and Holland. It remained striking that, with 120,000 men, he had not been able to overcome the numerically much smaller French Army! The Saint-Venant fortress had fallen to the Allies on September 30th. On September 19th, the French had obtained a slight consolation in the daring ambush of *Saint-Éloi*, which resulted in the destruction of a logistical convoy of Allied artillery and ammunition. The Anglo-Allies lost, during a terrible panic, 1055 killed and drowned as well as 645 soldiers prisoners of war, including lieutenant-colonel Count of Athlone[111] and 36 junior officers. The French suffered only losses of 57 killed and wounded!

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[110] Totaling 120,000 soldiers. At the time, there were no Winter Campaigns.

[111] Godart van Ginkel, 1st Earl of Athlone, 1644-1703, was a Dutch general in the service of William of Orange who became William III of England. In 1688 he accompanied William who came to overthrow the Catholic King Jacques II. In 1690 he became commander-in-chief of the English Army which crushed Ireland. He seized Ballymore and Athlone and won the victory of Aughrim over the Irish Catholics whom he massacred. During the War of the Spanish Succession, he commanded the Dutch Army. He was one of the Protestant lords installed in Ireland to subdue the country. Not to be confused with Major-General Alexander Augustus Frederick William Alfred George Cambridge, also 1st Earl of Athlone, KG (Order Knight of the Garter); PC (member of the King's Private Council); GCB (Order of the Bath); GMMG (Order of St-Michel and St-Georges); GCVO (Royal Victorian Order); DSO (Distinguished Service Order); ADC (P) (King's personal aide-de-camp); FRS (Member of the Royal Society). He was born German Prince Alexander of Teck in 1874 and died English Prince Earl of Athlone in 1957. He was appointed Governor-General of the Union of South Africa from 1940 to 1946, then Governor-General of Canada. To become a Peer of England, he was forced to renounce his German title of Prince of Teck of the Kingdom of Wurttemberg, because of the anti-Germanism which reigned in the Empire in the 20th century. He died in 1957 at Kensington Palace



In New France, Port-Royal was retaken by the English, on September 25th. The French garrison had only 250 soldiers. Was it possible to effectively defend such an important colony as Acadia with a handful of poorly paid soldiers? The Canadiens and Acadians have always proven to be valiant combatants, but such a lack of manpower must be considered as a criminal negligence on the part of the Minister of Colonies[112]! The English New England squadron carried 7,500 men with the sailors who provided landing troops. As a result of this negligence, New France was now devoid of outpost and glacis.

Finally, the Gods of Victory being tired of favoring the Anglo-Allies, the year 1710 would end in a few victories in favor of the French. One was the abortive attempt of the Allied invasion of Languedoc during the last week of July. This invasion was only part of a vast strategic project which consisted in also raising the French Protestant Huguenots of the Vivarais, Provence and Dauphiné, French provinces in which had just penetrated the Austro-Piedmontese Army, supported at least on the coast by the Royal Navy. The Huguenot plot, vented, led to the savage torture of those deemed responsible by the cruel Intendant Basville, following barbarian customs of this time. The English lost 3 or 400 Scots in all. On the

[112] Whose exact title was *Secretary of State for the Navy*. During the War of the Spanish Succession, this post was held by Jérome Phélypeaux, Count of Pontchartrain. Jean-Philippe Zanco, *Dictionnaire des Ministres de la Marine 1689-1958, archive*, S.P.M. Kronos, Paris 2011.

French side, "it was a kind of miracle[113], of more than a thousand cannon shots that were fired that day[114], there was not a single Frenchman killed." It was obvious that the Royal Navy did not send in his most experienced gunners!

In addition to this victory, the year 1710 was crowned by good news from Spain where the French had twice defeated the Anglo-Allied Army: at *Brihuega* and *Villaviciosa*. In *Brihuega,* on December 8th and 9th, the French Army (9,000 men) *which included the Irish Dragons of Kilmaloch*, had defeated the Allies. The latter[115] lost about 2,000 men, including 600 killed. French losses are unknown but probably similar. Allied Marshal Staremberg marched to the aid of Brihuega but arrived too late; the English had capitulated too quickly.

The next day, the relief army itself was defeated by the French at the *Battle of Villaviciosa.* The Anglo-Allied in full retreat, headed for Barcelona. Supporters of the King of Spain (the Austrian candidate) had lost almost all of Spain. They only had left Tarragona, Barcelona and the strategic fort that controlled the Pass of Balaguer, between these two cities. At the end of the battles of Brihuega and Villaviciosa, the Anglo-Allies had lost 68 flags, including 14 English, Dutch, Palatine and Catalan. From December 12th, Philip V of Spain and Marshal Vendôme marched to Zaragoza, where they made a triumphal entry by leading a long column of 11,257 Anglo-Allied prisoners of war. Thus, by these victories of Bri-

[113] Wrote Brueys.
[114] July 29th, 1710.
[115] About 10,000 men.

huega and Villaviciosa, Vendôme had managed to restore the Spanish succession in favor of Philip V of Bourbon. Even though the year 1810 had not been excellent for the French, these last victories in Spain prevented their morale from falling in free fall.

Ultimately, throughout this War of Spanish Succession (which was not yet completed), the French military balance sheet remained generally positive since, throughout this Conflict (from 1702 to 1714), the French won 46 victories and the Anglo-Allies 33. Five fights remained undecided. Yet, the four great mass battles[116], Allied victories, had a deeper impact on the course of the War than the nine battles —French victories[117]. But at this rate, in this year 1710, if nothing came to disturb the uninterrupted succession of wins and losses in similar numbers, it could be predicted that the war would last ten more years, ten extra years before a decision could draft.

France and England had to find another way because England —like France— was out of breath. Let us not forget that this country was paying, alone, the bulk of the military expenditure of the war, in order to regain its economic advantages on all the territories of the Spanish Empire, and especially in the mirific and almost elusive hope of seizing the *gigantic business of the Slave Trade to Latin America*, as we will see. Some dreamers think it is enough to strongly desire something only to end up

[116] Blenheim 1704, Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709; all Allied victories.

[117] Cranenburg 1702, Friedlingen 1702, Spire 1703, Almansa 1707, Villaviciosa 1710, Denain 1712, and the three naval battles: Santa-Marta 1702, Velez-Malaga 1704, Beachy-Head 1707, and Vigo 1702; all victorious for the French, with the exception of Vigo.

getting it. It was, without doubt, what Queen Anne did during this War of Spanish Succession.

In the Iberian Peninsula, the capture by the French of the important fortress of *Girona*, in the heart of the winter of 1711, reduced to very little the Catalan territory still favorable to the Austrian candidate Charles III.

In Flanders, Marlborough had succeeded in concentrating more than 140,000 men, in March, against 110,000 French. But he considered that this was not a sufficient superiority to defeat them, and as a result, the war could drag on for a long time. Some used to say: maybe another decade. Yet what the French didn't know was that the *London Financial Lobbies* were in full panic, because they considered ten more years of war out of the question for England, which, as we have said many times, bore most of the financial burden of hostilities.



Secret negotiations in London, between France and England, unbeknownst to the other Allies (January 1711)

It therefore happened that, since England had undertaken to provide most of the mercenary troops of the entire Allied army, the cost of hostilities[118] weighed heavily on the population of that country which bore more than its proportionate and fair share. In fact, the still anxious minds of the London merchant lobbies began to fear that sooner or later they would be asked to fill the enormous deficit that their war policy engendered[119]. Because if financiers, speculators, and other money handlers of all nations possess a certain gift for directing wars and make them fruitful and rewarding, the sight of the huge chasm of the deficit created by the hostilities ends up letting them foreshadow new taxes and high tariffs. It was, for them, in 1711, an excellent justification for changing allegiance.

This is how by a succession of seemingly innocuous events that we let's try to relate now, it was the peaceful Tory Party that found itself with the wind in its sails, while the sails of the bellicose Whig Party deflated desperately as by a dead calm from *the doldrums*.

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118 Especially the pay of the mercenaries. It was not self-serving. The donors of the funds intended to the wars are repaid later, either directly by the members of the coalition, or by the or by the economic benefits obtained by the subsequent peace treaty.

119 In fact, it was not. After the war, the British government set up a lottery which, over time, paid off the to pay the debt to the banks. Thus, the English nobility and the financial lobbies did not have to pay any taxes.

On the battlefields, English casualties were kept to a negligible minimum as a result of the meritorious efforts of the English general-in-chief, very parsimonious of the blood of his Compatriots. For this purpose, he even went so far as to place the essential English battalions garrisoned in the various fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands[1] or in the "*Tactical Reserve*" at the rear of the battlelines, while the Dutch, Scots, Irish, and overall the Germans, played the wrong roles on the battlefields. Despite this circumspection of the Duke of Marlborough in favor of his compatriots and his discernment in the imbroglio politico-economic struggles that were engaged in obscure London corridors, a rise of pacifism was felt in among the English people, and it will only take a few cinders to change the course of English politics. The first of these Sparks, and the most important, was that the Whig wife of the Duke of Marlborough, a close friend of Queen Anne Stuart of England, angry with her for a peccadillo, fell into disgrace[2] and was replaced on the spot by Abigail Mashan[3] a good-skinned Tory. The tone was set; the changes of the great Whig men of the state succeeded each

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1 This was less noticeable than leaving them in the back.

2 The last straw in their intimacy was a comment made by the Duchess to the Queen and reported by Winston Churchill. The Duchess of Marlborough replied to the Queen in front of outraged witnesses: "Shut up! These two words had incalculable consequences for the War of the Spanish Succession.

3 In 1670, Anne had met Sarah Jennings, the wife of John Churchill (married in 1677). Sarah became a close friend and the most trusted advisor of the future Queen Anne. When Queen Anne became Queen of England in 1702, upon the death of William III, Anne favored the Whigs and the military career of John Churchill, who had long lived in disgrace under his predecessor William III of Orange. Churchill was immediately promoted to captain-general, i.e., chief of the English army. Under the influence of Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough, the pro-war and strongly anti-Catholic Whig Party led English politics, falsely suggesting that the Tories were pro-Catholic in order to discredit them, according to the saying that he who wants to put down his dog accuses him of rabies. But around 1708, the Queen and her favorite fell out for the reasons mentioned above, and it was Abigail Mashan, Sarah's niece, who became Queen Anne's favorite. Abigail was a cousin of the Tory leader Robert Harley who later became Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

other in the second half of 1710. At the very beginning, it could be believed that the change of course would not be complete, −à 180°, we would say− for three of the "disgruntled Lords were remaining in possession of their office, the Duke of Marlborough remained General, the Duke of Sommerset remained *Grand Squire*, and the Count of Cholmondely [kept the office of] *Treasurer of the Queen's House.* There were still many people from the same Whig party that retained important jobs[4]". Who was behind the Queen to change course such a draconian way? Obviously, through Abigail, the Merchant Lobbies manipulated English policy with a masterful hand, for within a few months the entire pro-war Whig Government was replaced by pro-peace Tories. The Count of Godolphin, Whig and Grand Treasurer of England, connected with Marlborough both by the interest of fortune and by children, was, on the 19th of August 1711, deprived of the office of Grand Treasurer, which was entrusted to five commissioners including Earl Robert Harley of the Tory Party. Harley, Earl of Oxford thus became Grand Treasurer-in-Chief, i.e., Chancellor of the Exchequer, "for service rendered". Harley also became a Pair of Great Britain under the titles of Baron of Wigmore and Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. In 1712, Queen Anne even conferred on him *The Order of the Garter*[5], which in England was considered an apotheosis. Henry St. John was knighted, Viscount Bolingbroke and Secretary. Thus,

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[4] Swift, Jonathan, Book One, p.5.

[5] Information available from *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, ou *Histoire par ordre alphabétique de la vie publique et privée de tous les hommes qui se sont distingués par leurs écrits, leurs actions, leurs talents, leurs vertus ou leurs crimes, rédigé par une société de gens de lettres et de savants*, Chez Louis-Gabriel Michaud, Imprimeur-Libraire, Paris, 1817 Volume XIX.

disowned by the lobbies, the Whig rope of the Churchill-Marlborough had unscrewed deep into the abyss of the royal grace. Only the *first of rope*, the Duke of Marlborough, still supported at the Height of Glory by his halo of victorious strategist, continued to fight on the continent and keep the illusion of not being fallen. But an aureole has never been able to hold a statue for a long time when the pedestal has fallen off. The Duke of Marlborough now found himself unable to impose his men through his wife, who fell out in disgrace from the Queen of *England and Ireland*, who since the *Act of Union* had become *Queen of Great Britain*[6].



It became perfectly obvious to the French and to the English, too exhausted, that the outcome of the war could only come from the diplomacy, the very science in which the English excelled. They will prove it during this war. Diplomacy is a sublimation of hypocrisy. The English, by buying German regiments for all the Allied armies, were tired of paying and the French of dying. They

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[6] The *Acts of Union*, were English and Scottish parliamentary laws passed in 1706 and 1707, respectively, relating to the association of the Kingdoms of Scotland and England which thus became the Kingdom of Great Britain. This therefore resulted in the dissolution of the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms in favor of a common parliament, the Parliament of Great Britain. This was, in reality, the annexation of Scotland by England. The new flag of Great Britain featured the colors of Scotland (blue background and white St. Andre's cross) superimposed on the British flag (white background and red cross). The new kingdom, therefore, began on April 1, 1707. It was April Fool's Day for the Scottish people who lost their independence there and who, when they wished to shake off the English yoke, would undergo ethnic cleansing (Highlands Clearances). In 1801 will be added the red cross of Saint-Patrick (in fact of Saint-Andre which will symbolize annexed Ireland that year.

were made to get along. The German princes, who earned substantial income by selling to all the Allied armies their battalions of mercenaries, wanted obviously to continue the war for as long as possible so as to not dry up their resources[7]. The reversal of the political and military situation was in fact a real and dramatic case of espionage, because the French literally bought the defection of the English, who abandoned their Allies on the battlefields, as we will see.

The Real Circumstances of the London Secret Negotiations between the French and the English, intended to buy England's withdrawal from the War of the Succession of Spain, were always carefully concealed by English historians very concerned about the honour of their homeland. The truth didn't matter, provided that the honour and reputation were safeguarded[8]. Another reason for this systematic destruction of evidence was the mortal danger to the Tory politicians who initiated and brought this sudden change to an end, because in the system of succession to the throne of England, everything was planned so that the sovereign who would succeed Queen Anne *by virtue of the Act of Establishment* (voted by the Parliament of London in 1701), would be the German

[7] The Germanic princes are reminiscent of the African princes who sold their fellow citizens to European slave traders, except that in this case, unlike the German soldiers, the slaves were not consenting. The German soldiers were not all, moreover, since the desertion rate in these mercenary battalions was very high. We know how the soldiers were recruited with alcohol, a lot of alcohol. The recruiting sergeant offered the draft to the poor and to half-vagabonds, and, when they were drunk, had them initial the engagement sheet with a cross, but in front of witnesses. They then found themselves soldiers of this or that prince of the Holy Empire, who quickly sold them to England for a high price. As for the sales, monies were largely diverted by the Duke of Marlborough, who thus increased tenfold his own pay; as we will see later. The recruitment of French-Canadian coureurs de bois at the great annual fair in Lachine had something similar, although their wages were given to them more faithfully at the end of the trip to avoid desertions. A deposit was paid to them as they passed through Fort William so that they could spend it in the HBC stores.

[8] Thus, even today, English schoolchildren are not taught that England engaged in the African slave trade, let alone that it was the main slave-trading country. Only the abolitionist action is mentioned.

George, eldest son of Sophie of Boheme, the Electress of Hanover, "in the event that the Queen Anne *would not have a legitimate successor.*" As a matter of fact, George who was going to become King of England strongly desired the continuation of hostilities until the complete collapse of France. The hand over (passing) of the English crown to the Elector of Hanover required that Queen Anne did not have a legitimate child by her husband, the prince consort George from Denmark. *It seems likely that* the 16 royal children of Queen Anne were suppressed, no doubt by poison[9], mostly at birth, by Hanoverian secret agents of the future King George I[st]. She herself was probably poisoned in 1714, as the state of her grotesquely swollen body seemed to indicate. She was buried in Westminster Abbey in a large (almost square) coffin[10]. Nobody, of course, dared to raise the question and even less to risk the least hypothesis, especially not the Tory politicians who appeared ready to exile themselves to France for having served Queen Anne during her reign.

Thus, the betrayal of England vis-à-vis its Allies and the disturbing succession of Queen Anne Stuart became total taboo subjects. Sir Winston Churchill revealed the details of this diplomatic deception of which he had exhaustive knowledge thanks to the private papers of the Churchill Family who counted in its ranks the famous Duke of Marlborough, main actor of this war.

Winston Churchill's commendable franchise was not the result of a need for historical authenticity but

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9 Or by suffocation.

10 An edematous swelling (called sopha) occurs in the trunk and spreads over the whole body. If the swelling is accompanied by dyspnoea, thirst, weakness, fever, vomiting, hiccups, dysentery, and colic, it ends fatally with death. The causes can, of course, be poison. Kaviraj Kunja Lai Bhishagratna, The Sushruta Samhita, Kaviraj Kunja Lai Bhishagratna Publishing, India, 1916. Work translated into English from the original Sanskrit.

a desire to justify the behaviour of his illustrious ancestor who was dismissed for prevarication. In fact, the said concussion —quite true, no matter what Sir Winston Churchill said— had been the pretext to dismiss this general for his insubordination vis-à-vis Queen Anne Stuart, whose policy consisted in betraying the High-Allies.

In January 1711, therefore, a French spy, Abbé Gaultier, chaplain of several diplomats in London, arrived at Versailles from England. He brought in his luggage the *English offer* to initiate bilateral secret negotiations. Thus began the famous (and infamous), the incredible *Secret Negotiations of London*.



In 1715, at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, meticulous research was undertaken by the Dutch and Austrians Diplomatic Services, anxious to find traces of the reasons which had motivated the curious behavior of England during this War of the Spanish Succession. The ultimate goal was to find evidence of shameless secret negotiations which would have led to the defection of England. In fact, the whole of Europe wondered why this country was suddenly dedicated to supporting the French in their desire to impose a Bourbon on the throne of Spain. But it was impossible to find the slightest certainty of treason[11] because the English had

[11] With the exception of some instructions given to St. John, Viscount Bolinbroke which were made public a few years later by the German George I of Hanover who became King of England. But not everything was made public so as not to tarnish the honor of England. Robert Walpole was then appointed Official Censor to examine the papers and sort out those that could be made public without offending the self-esteem of the English. Walpole, who had been in prison under Queen Anne, thought only of revenge against the Earl of Oxford and the Viscount Bolinbroke.

destroyed all traces of it for obvious reasons of *national honour*, or personal safety. It was only in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the *Mémoires de Torcy*[12] were published, while all the actors of this diplomatic and military "twirl" had left this world, that the plain truth broke, confirmed later by some research in the diplomatic archives of the Kingdom of France.

Still better, this modest clergyman (l'Abbé Gaultier) with his candid and easy-going demeanour, succeeded in becoming the titular chaplain of ... Count de Gallas[13], ambassador of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire, under the pretext that its own chapel was no longer sufficient[14]. At this high-flying diplomat he met Lord Jersey whose wife, a Catholic, came to attend the Roman mass in the shovel of the Embassy of the Holy Empire, and he began to frequent the private mansion of this English aristocrat (Lord Jersey), a close friend of two very important Tory ministers, Robert Harley, leader of his party, and Shrewsbury[15]. So, little by little, Gaultier

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12 Colbert, Jean-Baptiste (Marquis de Torcy), and *Memoires de Monsieur de Torcy, to serve as a history of negotiations from the Treaty of Ryswyck* [Ryswick] to the Peace of Utrecht, Nourse & Vaillant, Printer, London, 1757 3 vol.

13 Elke Jamut-Derbolav, Die Osterreichische Gesandschaft in London (1701-171 1). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Haager Alianz, Bonn, 1972. (The Austrian Legation in London (1701-171 1). A Contribution to the History of the La Haye Alliance.)

14 The Count of Gallas himself did not fail to spy on the English, whose Ally he was. We read on page 148 of *l'Histoire du règne de la reine Anne d'Angleterre contenant les Negociations de la paix d'Utrecht, & les démêles qu'elle occasionna en Angleterre*, posthumous work of Doctor Jonathan Swift, Doyen of S.Patrice in Ireland; published on a Manuscript corrected by the Author's own hand, & translated from English by M**** [Marc-Antoine Eidous],Chez Marc-Michel Rev. & Arkstee & Merkus, in Amsterdam, 1765: "Towards the end of the month of August 1711, the Count of Gallas had sent one of his Secretaries, who was an Italian, to Frankfurt, where the Earl of Petersborough was then expected. This man had orders to pass himself off as a Spaniard, and to try to enter the service of the Count. He succeeded in doing so, and he accurately informed the Emperor's Secretary at Frankfurt of all that he could learn in the house of this Lord, and sent him copies of several letters which he had transcribed. For this espionage, Gallas was declared *persona non grata* in England by Queen Anne.

15 The latter was the direct descendant of General Talbot who had fought against Joan of Arc during the Hundred Years' War and who had been beaten and killed at the Battle of Castillon. Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, led the English Relief Army on July 17, 1453.

was able to blow on the pacifism's ember in English political circles, already inclined to reject this eternal war under the insidious pressure of the Merchant Lobbies of London who had also just opted for Peace, after having long sided with the war when they had lost the Spanish business[16] for the benefit of French merchants. The venerable chaplain also endeavoured to weave a whole network of friendships with personalities, very influential Tory politicians, who made themselves agents of Peace in favour of France. Finally, "the Count of Jersey[17], binds with the new deal Ministers, proposed Gaultier as a man of confidence, ... to send him [on a mission] in France. The proposal was agreed, and Jersey committed to instructing Gaultier, but verbally and without giving him anything in writing. The instruction consisted in letting the King know that the new Ministers, to whom the Queen of Great Britain had entrusted the care of her own affairs, wished for Peace, and believed it necessary for the Kingdom of England. "

One day in January 1711, the French clergyman crossed the Channel with a dispatch to be given to Torcy, who encouraged the French to renew Gertuydenberg peace talks aborted without result the previous summer. Torcy was very surprised to see his spy appear. He only knew him through his secret messages, perfectly encrypted, now under the authority of a *Special Envoy* of the British government itself. Gaultier announced to the French Minister Torcy, astonished, that France could hope to

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[16] It was in 1701 and 1702 that the King of Spain granted the French all the commercial advantages held until then by the English merchants. This had been the only real reason for England to gather and subsidize the Grand Alliance against France.

[17] Colbert, Jean-Baptiste (marquis de Torcy), et Mémoires de Monsieur de Torcy, pour servir d'Histoire des négotiations depuis le Traité de Rysuryck [Ryswick] jusqu'à la Paix d'Utrecht, Nourse & Vaillant , Imprimeur, Londres, 1757. 3 vol.,. p. 20.

negotiate a separate peace with the English, independently of their Dutch and German Allies. "Do you want[18] Peace? he said. I come to bring you the means to treat it and conclude it independently of the Dutch, unworthy of the goodness of the King [of France] and of the honour he has done them so many times to address them to pacify Europe." Asking a Minister of His Majesty, if he wished for Peace, was the same as asking a sick, attacked by a long and dangerous illness, if he wanted to heal[19]." The clergyman simply asked for a diplomatic *letter of credence* that would prove that he was an accredited and serious intermediary, and that the English could consider him an official secret agent. Torcy opened himself to the King during a Council, and he was decided to pursue the case. Money being the nerve of war and England being out of breath, the French then made the project to buy the withdrawal of England from the anti-French coalition. Without any doubt the coffers of the French Treasury were also desperately empty than those of the English, but the English were fond of colonies and economic advantages of which Louis XIV was ready to satiate their bulimia.

French diplomats knew that this possibility was not utopian, because −unlike France where the Aristocrats were not allowed to trade on pain of forfeiting their title of Nobility, England was governed covertly by Merchant Lobbies whose motivations were, of course, financial.

[18] To the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Versailles.

[19] Colbert, Jean-Baptiste (marquis de Torcy), et Mémoires de Monsieur de Torcy, pour servir à l'Histoire des négociations depuis le traité de Rysuryck [Ryswick] jusqu'à la Paix d'Utrecht, Nourse & Vaillant , Imprimeur, Londres, 1757. 3 vol. p. 21.

Not only English Nobility could practice trading without forfeiting their title of Nobility, but they were part of those Merchant Lobbies which developed all the guidelines for British national policy (in war and in Peace)[20].

By the way, England had already[21] allowed itself to be suborned by a bribe in 1493, as well as in 1658, when Cromwell's England had abandoned Spain, in the middle of war too, to get Dunkirk as a bribe. The English had never forgiven themselves for having lost the fortress of Calais one century after the Hundred Years' War, and throughout their fructuous history, they always considered the port-fortress of Dunkirk as a desirable replacement bridgehead on the mainland.

Abbé Gaultier returned to London at the end of January. He showed the secret Letter of Credence to Ministers Harley, Shrewsbury and Jersey, and verbally announced that the French were ready to consider any secret peace proposal a little serious.

As a new step, the French spy brought back to Versailles a dispatch dated February 13th, explaining that the English, very prudent and very concerned about their national honour, wished to *receive, from the French,* offers of Peace in terms that would suggest *beyond a shadow of*

[20] The largest trading companies (such as the Hudson's Bay Company and many slave companies) had aristocratic directors. For, as we said, unlike the French Aristocracy, the English Aristocracy did not decay (forfeit; lose its rights and privileges.) when it engaged in the contemptible profession of Commerce.

[21] After the capture of L'Ecluse by his fleet, Henry VII of England had disembarked a powerful army and attacked Boulogne, which was defended by the bastard of Cardonne. But the English campaign had lasted only three weeks, because Henry VII had been tempted by a royal bribe from Charles VIII of France: 745,000 gold ecus. He had thus crossed the Channel again, abandoning his Ally Maximilian of Austria, who, in despair, had to sign with France the Treaty of Peace of Senlis, on May 29, 1493.

a doubt that the initiative (of this treason) would come from the French[22]. Abbé Gaultier returned on April 6th with the response. The King of France offered to negotiate Peace on the bases the English would obtain effective guarantees as to their future trade with Spain[23], in the Indies"[24] and in the Mediterranean ports. The French even proposed, at England's choice, the cities of Aix-la-Chapelle or Liège as seat of the *official* Peace Negotiations which were to follow the secret unofficial negotiations. As a corollary, of course, the French demanded to impose their candidate on the throne of Spain, which was the very object of this long and horrible War of Spanish Succession.

As we have said, this document was submitted to the English on April 11th, 1711, through Abbé Gaultier. Shrewsbury presented the dispatch to the English Cabinet on April 26th. Secretary of State St. John was finally made aware and took the Anglo-French Negotiations in his own hands. He added to Gaultier an Englishman in whom he trusted, Matthew Prior, former Secretary at the Embassy of England in Paris. They were made to get along[25]".

At the beginning of July appeared for the first time a written document, prepared by the English negotiators.

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[22] "... British Government earnestly hoped that a definite offer of peace would come to them from Paris, and in such a form that it would appear to have arisen spontaneously from France." Winston S. Churchill, Marlborough, his Life and Times, Book 2, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd, London, p. 876.

[23] In short, the English feared that a French Bourbon King of Spain would close Spanish trade to England.

[24] That is, in Spanish or Latin America.

[25] Simple allusion to the fact that the abbot Gaultier was a priest and that Prior means *prieur*.

The English Cabinet of Ministers called for *security cities*[26] in the West Indies, including South America.

Abbé Gaultier and Prior reached Versailles on the 21st of July. They were welcomed by Torcy to whom were presented the *English requirements*. Knowing Louis XIV was in dire need of fixing the problem, and without too much emphasis, of course, on the fact that they were themselves reduced to the last end for financial reasons, the English showed themselves extremely greedy. It was sort of a poker game. They bluntly asked:

1- the ***exclusive monopoly of the African slave trade*** in the Caribbean and Latin America, by modifying the System of *Asientos de Negros* (*Contract for Blacks.*)[27].

2- that the naval bases of ***Gibraltar*** and ***Menorca*** are recognized in full ownership.

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[26] In which the English would have the assurance of being able to trade, on the one hand, but also to restore good shape to the slaves who had just arrived from Africa in order to sell them at a better price, by increasing the capital gain.

[27] *Asiento de Negros*, [or Assiento] meaning *Contract of Negros*. This was the name given by the Spaniards to the contracts signed with individuals or even powers, between the beginning of the 16th century and the middle of the 18th century, to import African slaves. Spain did not have trading posts in Africa, out of respect for the Papal Treaty of Tordesillas (which divided the world in two and granted the East to Portugal and the West to Spain), and designed or sold to individuals import franchises (the Asiento). In the space of three centuries, millions of black Africans, not to mention the countless number who died during transport, were bought in Africa, with the collaboration of local kings, and shipped to the American continent. Through these contracts, the Spanish government offered the contractor [asentista] a monopoly on the trade to part or all of the Spanish American Empire. The asentista agreed to pay a certain fee for this monopoly to deliver a certain number of slaves of each sex to the American market. The first of these asentistas was a company from Geneva, which in 1517 agreed to supply 1000 slaves over a period of eight years. In 1528, a German company agreed to supply 4,000 slaves and had to pay a fee of 20,000 ducats per year to the Spanish crown. Each slave was sold at a price not exceeding 45 ducats. By granting all of these lucrative Slave Trade Contracts to England (in this case to the British South Seas Company, through the secret Treaty of Utrecht), the English were going to import all the slaves for 30 years into Spanish America. This was huge. It represented a shower of millions of ducats for the English lobbies. And, not content with these fortunes, these shipowners could send one ship a year [navio de permiso], loaded to the hatch with various goods, to be sold on the Spanish colonial market. In return, the English had to pay a fee to the Spanish treasury of £34,000 per year.

3- the definitive renunciation of France to ***Acadia***, to the ***Hudson's Bay*** and ***Newfoundland***, as well as ***fishing rights*** varied in these regions.

4- the cession of ***Dunkirk*** to England as *bridge-head* on the European Continent.

5- France's recognition of the ***legitimacy of the Queen*** of England Anne Stuart**[28]**.

6- England wanted the kingdom of France and the kingdom of Spain ***never to be unified*** under one and same crown.

There was nothing about the succession of England, whose exiled princes the French were hosting in their country, nothing about the German frontier on the Rhine, nothing about the [German] Emperor's desires in Italy,

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[28] **Anne Stuart** [1655-1714] was the last monarch of her dynasty. She was the second daughter of King James II [1685-1688] and Anne Hyde. Although James was a Catholic, Anne was secretly raised as a protestant at the request of her uncle King Charles II [reigned 1660-1685]. In 1683 Anne was married to Prince George of Denmark. Her childhood friend Sarah Churchill, wife of the future Duke of Marlborough, became her advisor when she was crowned Queen of England. It was thanks to her protection and favor that Marlborough was appointed general-in-chief of the English army on the continent. It was Sarah who advised her husband to join the Protestant camp of William III of Orange, Stadtholder of the United-Provinces, when he overthrew his father-in-law [i.e. Anne's father] the Catholic King James II of England in 1688. By the Bill of Rights [1689], William and his wife Mary [Anne's sister] became King and Queen of England, and Anne herself was placed in the line of succession to the throne. After Mary's death, Anne found that King William of Orange kept her out of the temporary regency when he was away from London. Although Anne endured 18 pregnancies between 1683 and 1700, only five children were born alive and only one made it past infancy but died in 1700. Without an heir, she accepted the Act of Settlement of 1701, which designated a German Protestant dynasty, the Hanoverian descendants of King James I of England, as her successors on the English throne. In 1702, on the death of William of Orange, Anne became Queen of England. Her first government, though essentially Tory, was headed by two neutrals, Sidney Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough. As we have said, Sarah Churchill's influence led to her husband's appointment as commander-in-chief of the Anglo-Dutch forces. By 1707, the Duchess of Marlborough, though not in disgrace, had been supplanted in Queen Anne's heart by Mrs. Abigail Masham, a creature of the Tory leader Robert Harley, who later became the Duke of Oxford. Queen Anne's final act was to ensure that her successor would be Protestant by plagiarizing the government into the hands of the moderate Lord Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, who facilitated the accession to the English throne of the German Prince George of Brunswick [Hanover], who became George I [1714-1727]. The recognition of the legitimacy of the Protestant Queen Anne on the throne of England would have implied, on the part of France, the expulsion from its territory of the Catholic Pretender to the throne of England, who had taken refuge in French territory.

Spain**[29]**, Bavaria or The Netherlands. The discussions continued in France and then in England, between St.John and Mesnager**[30]** "The instruction given to Mesnager was for him alone, and Abbé Gaultier, even less Prior, was not to have knowledge of any of the articles it contained**[31]**. "The English demands were discussed and then accepted by the French *on condition that the English commit themselves positively and not settle mentally out of indifference to support the demands that France would impose on England's allies*.

Paradoxically, while accepting this French condition, the English asked in the same breath to rewrite the section concerning the Allies in terms that would "*throw some vagueness, or at least a certain veil of decency, over their raw, cynical realism*." The French emissary was extremely embarrassed, for all that they had given to England was precisely to make this country abandon its Allies in a blatant and public manner. And now, after having pocketed their "*special advantages*", the English Cabinet showed a desire to be protected against at least some of the criticisms with which they would be bombarded by their comrades**[32]**."

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[29] Because, according to the French-English agreement, it was understood that the new King of Spain would be French.

[30] Nicolas Le Baillif Mesnager or Menager was deputy (delegate) of the city of Rouen to the Council of Commerce.

[31] Colbert, Jean-Baptiste (marquis de Torcy), and Mémoires de Monsieur de Torcy, pour servir à l'histoire des négociations depuis le traite de Rysuryck [Ryswick] jusqu'à la paix d'Utrecht, Nourse & Vaillant , Printer, London, 1757. 3 vols. p.47.

[32] Churchill

Torcy tells us that "The secrecy of the negotiation was expressly demanded by the English Ministers. They thought it *absolutely necessary to conceal from the Dutch the advantages which the English Nation would obtain for its trade*. The King [of France] wished, in fact, to favour this country, and thus to reward the steps which England would take, either for the French King's interests or for the interests of the King of Spain, or for the re-establishment of a just, reasonable and solid peace[1]. "The last article of the English Preliminary Agreement required absolute secrecy. This article stated that "these demands, as well as all other negotiations with Great Britain, will be kept inviolably secret until they are published *by the mutual consent of both parties*[2]. They were never published by the English. The French refused this clause; despite this, St. John agreed to sign the Preliminary Agreement. One of the first secret conferences was reported by Torcy as follows: "The Ministers sent him word on September 3rd, 1711, to be present in the evening at the Conference to be held at the Earl of Jersey's. Oxford, Saint John and Prior went there. Mesnager led Abbé Gaultier there. When they were assembled, St. John, having a better command of the French language, and being more eloquent than Darmouth, his colleague, took the floor. He wished to prove that at the present moment, it was only a question of agreeing on the advantages which Peace would procure for England. He assured them that as soon as they were agreed, the Queen, his Mistress, would give all her attention to the interests of France; that this Princess had ordered a packet-

1 Colbert, Jean-Baptiste (marquis de Torcy), and Mémoires de Monsieur de Torcy, pour servir à l'Histoire des négociations depuis le Traité de Rysuryck [Ryswick]" jusqu'à la Paix d'Utrecht, Nourse & Vaillant , Printer, London, 1757. 3 vols. pp.43-47.

2 Swift, Book II, p. 1 1 1 . The two parties were obviously the French and the English, and there was no question that the latter would ever agree to publish them.

boat to be prepared to serve for the passage of the Courier which Mesnager would send to Calais, but that beforehand it was necessary to take up again the disputed points, and on each article to give precise answers. Mesnager promised this. The English ministers demanded, as a first condition, *the total demolition* of the works which the King had built at Dunkirk, both facing land and sea. In vain, Mesnager tried to reduce them to be content with only the destruction of [Fort] Rishban and the Navy Forts. The Fortifications of such a Place caused too much jealousy in England to let them remain[3].»

The English also demanded to be exempt from the 15% tax on goods entering Cadiz. They also wanted four cities in South America where English slave traders could rest their slaves and restore them to health before selling them at a better price. As for New France, "The King of France had already agreed to cede to England (in North America), Plaisance and the whole island of Newfoundland. But he renewed the orders given to Mesnager to persist in reserving to the French the freedom to fish and dry cod in the Petit-Nord[4]. His Majesty, the King of France, requested a formal renunciation, on the part of England, of any claim to the islands of Cape Breton, Saint Pierre and Sainte-Marie. The King reserved the right to make in these islands the Establishments he would judge appropriate. Mesnager was to insist on the restitution of Port-Royal and all the dependencies of Acadia, and as it was still uncertain whether the English had succeeded in their enterprise of

[3] Colbert, Jean-Baptiste (marquis de Torcy), and Mémoires de Monsieur de Torcy, pour servir à l'Histoire des négociations depuis le Traité de Rysuryck [Ryswick]" jusqu'à la Paix d'Utrecht, Nourse & Vaillant , Printer, London, 1757. 3 vols. pp.56-57.

[4] *The Petit-Nord* is the west coast of the island of Newfoundland, later called *la Côte française* or *the French Coast.*

Quebec[5], the King required, in case of success on their part, that this City be restored to him, with the dependencies of Canada[6].

During the Secret Negotiations, the French noted that the English ministers seemed fearful of Queen Anne's possible reactions: "The fear of these ministers might have seemed frivolous to one who did not know the constitution of England, and the continual danger to which those who have in their hands the administration of the principal affairs of state are exposed. These same Ministers experienced this again, when, a few years later, the Duke of Hanover ascended the throne of Great Britain[7]. We shall evoke these acts of vengeance in the last chapter.



The English historian and chronicler Jonathan Swift has painted a very accurate portrait of the Duke of Marlborough, who has a prominent place in this time: "The Duke of Marlborough has been painted in so many guises, and is indeed of such a mixed character, that it is difficult to decide anything about him, without being suspected of flattery or slander. I will say nothing of his military talents, which the speeches of his friends and enemies, among the

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5 The French knew that an English attack on the capital of New France was likely to occur at that time.

6 Torcy, Book III, Part III, pp.63-64. On page 76 of the same document, Queen Anne asked that the term *Amérique septentrionale* be dropped for *Amérique sur la Mer du Nord*, another name for Hudson Bay.

7 Torcy, Book III, Part III, pp.72-73.

people of war, have made very problematic. However, if one puts him among those who love war, the thing is not doubtful; he loved it for reasons which are not common to him with the other Generals[8]. The clever ones, who deny him any personal value, do not seem to pay attention that this imputation is vague. It is so rare that the person of a General is exposed, that it is very difficult to make such a judgment, and perhaps the fear that one pretends to have often disconcerted him on the point of an action, could have had his army rather than his person for object. He had been nourished in the principles of the party called Tory, and always leaned to that side, yet in the end, the opposite party made him such tempting offers that his friends could not counteract them. His ignorance in Letters is in some way compensated for by the goodness of his judgment, by a certain natural eloquence, and by that knowledge which one acquires at Court and in the armies. We must not judge his ambition by the desire he showed to be made general for his whole life. I am persuaded that in this his principal motive was the fees and the profits attached to this place by continuing the war, and I believe that he did not have then the intention to put the Crown in his family, seeing that it had already been several years since his only son had died. He is known by the empire he shows how to take over his passions, and by the talent, he has of disguising them; they are all concentrated in the love of riches. If nature has refused him liberality, it has not made him stingy with promises; but this talent, so necessary in the Courts, does not succeed so well in the camps and among soldiers,

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[8] He will explain later the meaning of this cryptic sentence: he loves war not like the other generals because of the taste for risk but because of the desire to get rich. Most of Swift's sentences are venomous. The antiquity of the style attests to their violence.

who do not have a mind refined enough to feel it or to taste it[9].

"Swift[10] reserves his sharpest arrows for the Duchess of Marlborough, who had been the favourite of Queen Anne:

"The Duchess, his wife, has a right to claim a place in this work; it is to her that the Duke is especially indebted for his elevation and fall. For more than twenty years[11], she possessed, without rival, the favor of the most indulgent of Sovereigns, and never lost the least opportunity to turn it to her profit. The Duchess of Marlborough kept a rather good reputation, relatively to love and to chivalry, but there reigned in her heart *three fury*, mortal enemies of tenderness: a sordid *avarice*, an unbearable *pride* and a *fury* that nothing could moderate. The last of these passions, in particular, had broken out so often in such an unforgivable manner that it had already alienated the Queen's affection long before it was noticed in the world[12]. This Lady was not lacking in wit, she made a show of it, in her time, by arguing against religion, and by wanting to prove the impossibility and absurdity of the Christian Doctrine. One has only to imagine what a mind of this calibre, moth-

9 Swift, Jonathan, Histoire du règne de la Reine Anne d'Angleterre, Marc-Michel Rev., & Arkstee & Merkus, in Amsterdam, 1765. Book One, pp.16 ff.

10 Jonathan Swift, with his caustic wit, is better known in the French-speaking world for his Gulliver's Travels than for his nasty description of the Churchill-Marlborough family.

11 The Duchess of Marlborough was Queen Anne Stuart's close friend 10 years before her accession to the throne of England.

12 It was moreover anger of this last one against the Queen, —some words proferred publicly—, which led to the rupture and the disgrace.

eaten by the loss of power, favour, and greatness, is capable of undertaking, and I have said enough[13]."

Like many politicians who believe themselves beyond the reach of dangerous backlash, the Duke of Marlborough took advantage of his untouchable privileged position to enrich himself without restraint and even to prolong the war, which brought him immense fortunes without incurring the perils that threatened ordinary soldiers, for, as Swift said a little earlier: "But when he saw that his party was losing control of English politics and that his partners in politic were falling into disgrace one after the other, he feared that the Truth about his misdeeds would be exposed to the public at large and "that Parliament would be tempted to peel back his negotiations at the Hague in 1709 and would want to know why and by whose advice the French peace proposals had been rejected[14]."

For it was becoming evident that the conditions of Peace, unacceptable to the French, were only intended to prolong the war. But this was not the only turpitude that this General wanted to keep in the shadows of his conscience; he also feared "that the secret measures he had taken to engage the Queen to give him the Generalate for his whole life would be revealed, which was a very delicate article and very easy to prove[15]. As for the rumors of embezzlement which were beginning to darken Marlborough's horizon as the House of Commons examined his curious behavior during the War of the Spanish Succession, "one of his creatures assured the Speaker very

[13] Swift, Jonathan, History of the Reign of Queen Anne of England, Marc-Michel Rev. Merkus, in Amsterdam, 1765. Book One, pp.19.

[14] Ibid, Book I, p.55.

[15] Swift, Jonathan, *History of the Reign of Queen Anne of England*, Marc-Michel Rev. , Arkstee & Merkus, in Amsterdam, 1765. Book One, pp.19 ff.

seriously that they were mistaken in blaming this Lord on this article, and that it was the Queen herself who had pressed the Duke to receive this commission, and that his refusal made her take the first temper against him... This effrontery seemed incredible if one had the slightest reason to doubt it[16]."

Prince Eugene was no less tortured by the sharp scalpel and the acerbic tongue of the historian Swift, whose name is so appropriate: "The ambition of this Prince is to be continually occupied in war, without bothering about what the cause or consequence of it might be. He likes to see himself at the head of an army, which is the only place where he can play a considerable role. He is not exempt from a natural tinge of that cruelty of which the Italians are accused[17]. Nourished in arms, he is so ready to extinguish pity and remorse, that he is ready at any time to sacrifice the lives of a thousand men to a whim of glory or revenge[18]." The cruel and merciless warrior proved it by his strategy, which was similar to that of the Duke of Marlborough described above [similar to a *meat grinder*]. This cruelty was common to most of the strategists of the time, both French and Allied. But Marlborough, at least, tried to spare the soldiers of his own country, England, by sacrificing those of England's Allies. This is what this country did during the two World Wars of the 20th century. (France, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, India...)

Hatred also seemed to occupy a great place in Prince Eugene's heart. He had proved it when he had left his

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[16] Ibid, Book I, pp.55ff

[17] The French-speaking Savoy was then considered an Italian state, although Prince Eugene was born in Paris

[18] Swift, Jonathan, Histoire du règne de la reine Anne d'Angleterre, Marc-Michel Rev., & Arkstee & Merkus, in Amsterdam, 1765. Book One, p.66.

native Paris after Louis XIV had refused him to command the French armies. He had sworn to come back with arms in hand and to make the French pay for this great humiliation. His hatred also had for object all those who wanted to stop the war, *this great game of chess that he aspired to win, whatever the number of deaths.* He had thus conceived: "an implacable hatred against *the Grand Treasurer*[19], whom he considered as the main obstacle to his insatiable passion for war. Seeing, therefore, that it was impossible for him and his friends to succeed, as long as this Minister was at the head of affairs, he proposed an expedient, often put into practice by the people of his country. It was, to use his expression, to get rid of the Treasurer "à la sourdine" [quietly, discreetly, by stealth]. He said that nothing was easier, that it would pass for an effect of chance; that there was only to engage people suitable for this purpose, to make a racket during the night. Consequently, a troop of bandits and untrustworthy people were spread throughout the various districts of the City of London, who probably exceeded their commission. Indeed, they mingled with those kinds of debauchers, who often infest the streets at midnight, and committed the most inhuman outrages upon several persons whom they attacked without reason, and whom they mutilated and wounded in the face, arm, and other parts of their bodies, but soon these excesses were stopped, and this is probably what prevented the execution of the great design[20]."

This was one of the criminal precedents used not only by Prince Eugène but, as we shall see later, by the

[19] The English Minister of Finances.

[20] Swift, Jonathan, History of the Reign of Queen Anne of England, Marc-Michel Rev. & Arkstee & Merkus, in Amsterdam, 1765. Prince Eugene's grand design was, of course, to take advantage of the social unrest to assassinate members of the Tory government opposed to the war.

English Whigs who opposed Peace with France. The French-English discussions in London took place between secret agents, and then, in the private anterooms, each clause was reviewed and scrutinized in great detail by the representatives of the London Merchant Lobbies. Then Queen Anne and her Council accepted or rejected the agreement on the advice of the Lobbies. Sometimes the negotiators met the Queen in person. Monsieur de Torcy recounted Mesnager's meeting with Queen Anne:

"After the signature**[25]**[21], and when the Ministers of the Council had withdrawn, Prior warned him**[26]**[22] on behalf of the Secretary of State St.John**[27]**[23], to go the next day to Windsor. He did not fail to do so. Saint John led him in secret to the Queen's apartment at eight o'clock in the evening. They went up a secret disguised staircase, meeting no one but two guards, and in the anteroom, a woman in the confidence of the Princess. The reception that the Queen gave Mesnager was gracious. She charged him with making her compliments to the King of France, to assure him that she would leave no stone unturned to advance the conclusion of the general Peace. She then said: "I do not like war, and I will contribute to all that depends on me to make it end as soon as possible. I wish to live well with a King of France, to whom I am so much allied by the proximity of blood[24], and I hope that the bonds of our union will be strengthened more and more

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[21] On October 8th.

[22] He warned Mesnager.

[23] It is, of course, St.John, Viscount Bollingbroke.

[24] Anne Stuart of England was the granddaughter of Henriette-Marie de France, who was the third and youngest legitimate daughter of the French King Henri IV and the Queen Marie de Médicis. Henriette-Marie was born on November 26th, 1609 and had married Prince Charles Stuart, future King Charles I of England and Scotland in 1625. It was George Villiers de Buckingham, favorite of her husband, who had come to France to negotiate this marriage.

between us and our subjects, after the Peace by a correspondence and a perfect friendship."

The same secrecy observed in introducing Mesnager to the Queen's Audience, was again observed when he left it and "set out for London with Prior, who warned him not to turn back, while he was at Court at the Secretary of State's, because the spies, which the Whigs kept around the Queen, were very numerous. It was with good reason that the Ministers, then admitted to the confidence of this Princess, feared the times to come, and judged it necessary to use great caution and circumspection. They still more realized the importance of this danger in 1714, when the German Duke of Hanover ascended the throne of England, by virtue of that famous *Act of Establishment in the Protestant Line*[25]."

It even happened that the French secret agents met directly with the representatives of the British Merchant Lobbies together with the English negotiators. But this was rare, as English politicians usually served as intermediaries. While in London, Mesnager was invited to visit Prior on October 4th to meet with St. John, who was "accompanied by a *Commissioner of the English Plantations in America*[26]," named Moore.

On October 4th, it was a question of ironing out some difficulties about the terms that would be used to express the permission restricted to the English only to introduce Negroes in the Ports of [Spanish] America, as well as to know what was the exemption from the duties of fifteen

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[25] Torcy, Book III, Part III, pp.87-88.

[26] Moore was a full member of the London Merchant Lobbies. He represented the planters, the colonists of America.

percent which Mesnager promised for the English goods introduced into Spain, and which he put forward as a very considerable advantage for the English Nation[27]. The merchants, who undoubtedly felt like gourmands in a candy store, wanted to take everything at full force: "The dispute heated up over the option that the King of France reserved for his own subjects to fish and dry the monies on the coast of Newfoundland. Mesnager maintained that the King [of France] could not abandon this reserve, but he promised that His Majesty would agree to bring the discussion of the other difficulties to the General Conferences of Peace[28]."

It is, therefore, necessary to emphasize the capital importance of the London Merchant Lobbies, which, while not usually the leading negotiators, always stood back in the shadows to examine and weigh the French proposals of the day and to press for the changes they considered desirable. As an example, let us take the question of the fishing rights which the French would like to retain in Terre-Neuve. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs, in charge of the Intelligence service, states in his Memoirs that "Prior came t o his residence[29] on the morning of October 6th, to tell him, on behalf of the Ministers, that the Newfoundland clause could not be accepted in the form they had agreed upon the day before. The representations of the London Merchant Lobbies had been the cause of this change, Prior said. They found in it, according to him, equivocal terms and very contrary to the interest of the English trade. He, therefore, proposed to put the whole thing back to the general Peace Conferences. In vain, Mesnager offered to suppress the terms inspiring the least

[27] Torcy, Book III, Part III, pp.74-75

[28] Ibidem, Book III, Part III, p.74.

[29] At Mesnager's.

suspicion. The simplest expression was to specify that freedom would be reserved for the French to fish and dry on the coasts of the Isle of Newfoundland. The real difficulty on the part of the Council of England lay not in the expressions. A change so sudden and so little expected had a *secret cause*[30]."

Prior did not approve it. He admitted that the uncertainty of the success of the English enterprise in Canada was the real reason for these unexpected delays. If the project of seizing Québec[31] succeeded, the Newfoundland fishery would be absolutely forbidden to the French. Under these conditions, Mesnager continued, England declared not choosing Peace, because this country must count on the King [of France] continuing the war, rather than yielding on this capital point. Mesnager showed how important it was, and how little interest the English had in opposing the decision of the Queen and her Council, since England possessed three times as much sea and land as was needed for fishing and drying. You are, he said, people of honour. You have given me your word. I ask for its execution. *The whims of a few merchants*[32], perhaps aroused by the enemies of the Government, must not prevail over the Queen's promise. Prior promised to make a

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30 Segment not highlighted in the original text.

31 The English enterprise on Canada" mentioned by the Englishman Prior was the following: in 1711, a powerful fleet of 16 warships escorting 60 troop transports ships, of which one of them was named MARLBOROUGH, very popular in the Royal Navy at that time, commanded by Sir Hoveden Walker, sailed up the St.Lawrence river to attack Quebec. According to a well-established tradition, a man from l'île d'Orléans named Jean-Pierre Lavallée, who claimed to be a sorcerer, put a curse on the English, and within a few hours, the fleet was caught in a thick and deadly fog; eight English ships smashed on the coastal reefs and the fleet immediately retreated, leaving 740 drowned soldiers out of a total of 1390, as well as 150 sailors. It seems that this act of thaumaturgy was not a unique case: "In the region of the port of Bayonne, witches, as elsewhere in England at the same time (1597), commanded the winds and sank the ships. Jean Palou, La sorcellerie, PUF, Paris, 1957, page 65. To return to serious matters, the Merchants Lobbies of London had hoped in vain that Quebec would be taken in order to prohibit, completely, all French fishing boats in Newfoundland. As for the famous spell-casting sorcerer, needless to say, he was not believed by all Canadians.

32 Segment not highlighted in the original text.

faithful report of all that Mesnager had told him, he could do nothing more[33]. The London Merchant Lobbies, more far-sighted and more optimistic than ordinary politicians, would have preferred to wait for the result of the English expedition to New France in order to completely ban the French fishery from North America, if Québec were taken. As our national artist Ariane Moffatt sings so well, the merchants wanted: "everything, right now and here".

However, one cannot, with impunity, rub shoulders with treachery without defiling oneself. During these secret negotiations without the knowledge of her own allies, and even afterward, during the official negotiations in the maze of secret corridors and drawing rooms of the Utrecht Town Hall, the Queen of England —she who had been seduced by the lure of gain and the harsh and insatiable influence of the London Merchant Lobbies— seemed to be constantly worried. She feared the effect that her behaviour and that of her loyal supporters would have. She dreaded what other nations might think of her, and was afraid of their opinion of her personal honesty and integrity. History's judgment of her seemed to frighten her:

The Queen wished ... above all "to avoid the reproaches and declarations which she foresaw on the part of the Dutch[34]." As a result, her English agents constantly wanted to modify articles either *to let their Allies believe that the Queen had also thought of them* in the negotiations, or *to incorporate in one of the clauses a forgotten advantage for herself or for the merchants*, and Mesnager had to play tight sometimes: "Mesnager... replied to

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33 Torcy, Book III, Part III, pp.78-79.

34 Torcy, Book III, Part III, p.80.

Prior... that the variation[35] of the Council was astonishing, at the moment when it was only a question of signing the articles discussed and reciprocally agreed..." Further on, the English negotiator insisted on the fact that "*it is necessary to avoid any expression capable of exciting the least suspicion*[36]..." The Earl of Stafford, appointed to negotiate, had the difficult task of giving some explanations to the Grand-Pensionnaire[37]. He "was ordered to communicate to the Pensionnaire the state of the negotiation... to explain the reasons which, up to that time, had prevented this Princess (the Queen of England) from communicating it to the States-General; finally, he had to explain that, if she had just stipulated the conditions that would be generated for the Allies, it was only for the sole consideration of not interfering in deciding their interests and claims, and with a view to leaving them entirely free to deal with them themselves at the Peace Conferences.

[He was ordered to explain] that the Queen's intention was to act in concert with these same Allies, without any shadow of separation, and that to avoid any suspicion on their part, she had refused to treat for Peace in England. *Stafford was to assure the Grand-Pensionnaire that her Majesty the Queen had not stipulated in favor of her subjects any advantage to the prejudice of the Dutch*; that no offer on the part of France would engage her to make Peace, if she did not obtain by the Treaty that the Republic

[35] Reversals, changes in demands.

[36] Torcy, Book III, Part III, p.81-82.

[37] The Grand-Pensionnaire was the honorary title of the president of the States of Holland, the Secretary of the executive and legislative body of the Province of Holland. It was the French who, according to the diplomatic etiquette of the time, added the prefix *grand* in the 17th century in order to underline the *de facto* precedence of the Holland function over those of the other Dutch provinces.

of Holland was satisfied on the articles of *the Barrier*, of commerce, and on her other claims[38].

But the *apology is an accusation* —as is commonly said— and in the face of the accusations of the Dutch who felt betrayed, Anne didn't just defend herself. She threatened them with a very feminine subtlety and accused them of her own evils. "She could justly complain of a very unfair procedure on the part of the Dutch, *if they continued to show an unjust concern for her good faith and conduct*[39]; that if they trusted her opinion, she would advise them to take the necessary measures to moderate their claims on the article of the Barrier, and to compose to obtain a reasonable and sufficient part of it for the security of the State, rather than to insist stubbornly on the whole. That she would give the same advice to the Imperials (Holy Roman-Germanic Empire), or to such others of the Allies as would promptly recall the preliminaries drawn up in 1709, and would reject any proposal different from these articles. That if the Dutch, who were strongly attached to supporting them[40], preferred to continue the war than to abandon them, she declared that England was no longer in a position to support a burden whose weight, unequally borne by the Allies, was weighing her country down while on all sides they were slackening in their commitments. That she gave them a choice, either to supply their contingent regularly, either in troops or in ships, or to make peace[41]."

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38 Torcy, Book III, Part III, pp.95-96.

39 Segment not highlighted in the original text.

40 To support the Imperials, i.e. the Austrians and the Holy Roman Empire.

41 Torcy, Book III, Part III, pp.96-97.

On the subject of the next general Peace Conference, which began to be envisaged for the beginning of 1712, Bollinbroke even advised Mesnager, after the secret signing between the French and the English, that "it is necessary that France be firm and easy; firm to hold out to the Dutch if they contest the advantages promised to England; easy on certain articles which it will be convenient to grant [to the Dutch] for the SAKE of peace[42]. Needless to say, this sentence was not revealed by the French negotiators.

In November 1711 already, in allied circles, "they were speaking out against the conduct of the new Minister of England, which was highly regarded as *perfidious*[43]. England had blown hot air up to that point and could not be trusted to negotiate a separate peace in violation of the original Grande Alliance Treaty. Even though Oxford (The Earl of Oxford was Grand Treasurer of England or Chancellor of the Exchequer) had told the British Parliament, speaking about a separate peace, that "nothing of that nature has ever been our intention, for such a peace would be so absurd, so inane, and so treacherous [44] that every servant of the Queen must answer to the Nation with his head[45]". No one believed him. Undoubtedly, the cruel nickname of perfidious Albion dates from this time and was created by the High Allies and the Austrians.

Until the last moment, the High Allies of England tried if not to prevent, at least to delay as much as possible the opening of the General Peace Conferences at Utrecht

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[42] Ibid. p.91.

[43] Ibid. p.100.

[44] Segment not highlighted in the original text.

[45] *Journal of Debates of the British Parliament*, VI, 1,132. "Nothing of this nature was ever contemplated; for such a peace would be so foolish, so villainous, and so chivalrous, that every servant of the Queen must answer for it with his head before the nation." quoted by Churchill, p. 950.

or elsewhere. A date was set, however, for January 1712. The French tried to hinder the talks by spreading a rumor that they were also holding secret parallel negotiations with the Dutch diplomats, or perhaps it was the latter who were trying to create suspicion between France and England by spreading this perverse echo? The English seemed, for a moment, frightened, for there was no question of "letting" themselves be double-crossed, diplomatically speaking. Queen Anne "feared... that the negotiation would be taken away from England, if France could obtain more advantageous conditions from Holland, or if the French imagined that England lacked the strength to contain its Allies[46]. Finally, for all these good reasons, the Queen pressed the negotiations. In fact, the Dutch had so discredited themselves during the previous negotiations by their absurd intransigence that Abbé Gaultier had no difficulty in demonstrating that they "did not deserve that the King[47] should have the least complacency for them, and that it would be a great deal to do to grant them the advantages which the good of Peace did not allow to be refused to the instances of the Queen of Great Britain[48]. One is ready to forgive a powerful man, but one refuses forgiveness to the weakest who has had the audacity to humiliate us, even if he had some valid reason.

With regard to the City of Dunkirk, which the English had requested, the French negotiator "made these Ministers agree that it was from the other Allies that the King [of France] should obtain an equivalent for the

46 Swift, Book IV, p.314.

47 Le Roi de France.

48 Torcy, Book III, Part III, p.99.

demolition of Dunkirk[49], proportionate to the prejudice that France would suffer by this important demolition, granted only at the insistence of this Princess, and as an essential proof of the King's friendship for her. This equivalent already treated was to be composed of specified Places in Flanders, of which the Allies had made themselves masters during the war**[54]**[50]." Thus, the old King of France, vindictive to the end against the Dutch who had tried to humiliate him during the negotiations of The Hague and Gertuydenberg, demanded that the Dutch pay the compensation price for the Bribe the French King would make to buy the English's treason. It was certainly most cynical, but the Roi Soleil, with fading rays could not forget that his victors, exultantly in joy and pride, had a memorial erected in 1704 on the plain of Hochstadt[51], not in memory of the 20,000 men who had given their poor lives because ambitious and stupid kings competed for power in this "*bloody chess game*," but simply to inflict an insolent blow on the Sun King. They had engraved in Latin this impudent inscription: "*Agnoscat tandem Ludovicus XIV nominem debere, ante obitum, aut felicem aut magnum vocari*[52]. How could he forget this stinging humiliation? Perhaps, too, by favouring one Ally over the others, the French wanted to spread jealousy and dissension among themselves. It was a fair trade, and the Allies had not failed to play this perverse game themselves when they had destroyed Bavaria at the opening of hostilities, in

49 The city had been taken from the Spaniards by Turenne and given to the English to pay for the troops they were renting from France [1658]. At the time of the War of the Spanish Succession, Louis XIV had just bought it in 1662 from Charles II, King of England, and the English were desperate to get it back.

50 Torcy, Book III, Part III, p.99.

51 Battle called Blenheim by the English.

52 "May Louis XIV finally learn that no one should, before his death, be called *heureux* or *great*." The adjective *heureux* or *happy* has here the sense of lucky, blessed by the gods.

order to punish the Elector Maximilian II Emmanuel Wittelsbach for having chosen the French side. Every crop, every farm, every village, every town in Bavaria had been carefully burned by the Anglo-German-Dutch soldiers, but the castles and mansions of the aristocratic Wittelsbach had been spared, not out of class solidarity, but in order to sow resentment and hatred in the desperate hearts of the peasants, who had been forced to take refuge in huts with their large families while waiting to rebuild their burned houses.

But in 1710, the London Merchant Lobbies had changed their mind. The French Royal Bribe was a complete game-changer, but the Duke of Marlborough's party was fighting frantically to keep the privileges that the war was bringing to him. The bellicose Whigs fought furiously in England itself, to change opinion and thus prevent their country from betraying the Allies in accordance with the wishes of the Merchant Lobbies and Pacifist Circles. They also fought on the Continent to encourage the Allies to continue fighting against all odds, hoping Queen Anne would finally leave this world to give up her Crown to a warmongering king... until France was definitively out of the fight and destroyed. "It was intended… to make the People believe that the healthiest part of the English Nation would force the traitors to give up any peace negotiation. Buys[53], diplomatic *Envoyé* to England, was regarded as a source of inspiration; everything was expected from his secret practices, from his underground maneuvers, even more than from his speeches. The main commission of this diplomat was to blow the fire in London, and by whatever means, to make sure that the new Minister was

[53] The Dutch diplomat.

changed. He was persuaded that he would succeed in *what he ardently desired*[54]. He had said before his departure, that as soon as he would entertain the Queen of England in her Cabinet, she would not leave any of her new Ministers in place[55]." According to the guidelines of Louis XIV, the French intelligence services immediately informed the English Government. They also proposed, if the Nederland refused to open the Conference, to settle directly and officially all the clauses with the English. They should take care not to let it be known, of course, that the essentials had already been settled.

At the same time, the Earl of Peterborough, who wanted to show off and play an important character, announced in Frankfurt[56] that he himself was in the secrets of the gods of the English Government and that he knew from good sources that England would renounce the imminent Peace if the Emperor would send the troops he was stationing in Hungary to the banks of the Rhine or to the Netherlands[57].

Here, too, the French Intelligence Service, which was keeping a close watch on Peterborough, informed the Earl of Oxford through the French agents in London, who were negotiating the terms of the secret Treaty. As a result, Queen Anne informed the Allies that the French proposals contained all the elements desired to open the official

54 Segment not put in evidence in the original text. One feels all the irony of Torcy vis-a-vis the Dutch.

55 Torcy, Book III, Part III, p.101.

56 Thus, in the Holy Roman Empire. Charles Mordaunt, 3rd Earl of Peterborough and 1st Earl of Monmouth (1658-1735) was the son of John Mordaunt, 1st Viscount Mordaunt and his wife Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Carey, second son of Robert Carey, 1st Earl of Monmouth. Mordaunt's father, John Mordaunt, had been created Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon and Baron Mordaunt of Seigate (Surrey) in 1659. Wasn't that a significant pedigree?

57 The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was not only sovereign of Austria but also King of Hungary.

Conference and that she, therefore, decided to open the Peace Conference *without their agreement*. Queen Anne "asked... [the King of France] as a means to succeed in war she believed necessary to advance the success of her good intentions, that the King would be willing to help her *by revealing to her his secret about the specific interests of each of her Allies*[58]. Her aim was to use this knowledge to force them more easily into the general negotiation. She hoped to use it usefully and to succeed to the advantage of the *public good*...

The sole intention of the Queen of England, in asking the King of France for such marks of confidence, was to employ the means which she knew to be the surest to shorten any length of negotiation, as she was persuaded that her intentions on this point were in perfect accord with those of the King of France, she was also convinced that he would not be at fault for her discretion, for which she renewed her protests and promised to reserve for herself alone the confidences which the King would want to make to her, assuring that she would use them only for the good of Peace, so justly desired by both sides[59]." The French refused, of course, this very dangerous trust which came from merchants. *Curiously, the English, who were betraying their own Allies, wanted to reassure the French of their own rectitude.*

In London, the pro-war Whigs could not forgive themselves for having lost control of the power in Queen Anne's heart. And the former Whig ministers, supported

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58 Segment not highlighted in the original text. This curious request, probably disinterested and honest in the mouth of the candid Queen, was probably made by the dreaded merchant lobbies who hoped to control all negotiations between the French and the other Allies. Of course, the French refused to give them these well-guarded secrets.

59 Torcy, Book III, Part III, pp.204-206.

by Dutch and German diplomats, were trying to destabilize the English Government, which had been infiltrated by the Merchant Lobbies, with the sole aim of bringing about a reversal of the situation. Among the planned incidents which were to occur "spontaneously", at least in appearance, was a typically English traditional ceremony, directed against the Pope, —since Catholic France was assimilated to the Papists— intended to arouse religious hatred, as is well known, always latent in the uncultured and primitive mind of the ignorant little people so easy to manipulate: "One of the incidents, which was to occur as unplanned, had for some time been meditated by the enemies of the Government. The event was fixed for the month of November, and the Minister (Ambassador) of the Archduke[60] awaited it as one of those marvelous cases, produced by the springs of a refined policy.

The execution, planned since the previous month of May, had been found impossible. It was to be carried out on the day when the ridiculous ceremony of walking in pomp through the streets of the City and then burning the effigy of the Pope was to be executed in London. It was a kind of celebration which brought together people of all sorts, always ready to stir up disorder, pillage, and sedition. On this occasion, the malcontents intended to stir up the poor people and attribute to their fury the means they would have to take cruel revenge on their enemies and to overthrow the Government[61]."

As we can see, there were many who wanted to use the London rabble to destabilize the regime. The battle was going on in London against the new Tory

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[60] The Archduke of Austria, of course. The same one who want to take over the Spanish Crown.

[61] Torcy, Book III, Part III, pp.120-121.

Government, which favoured Peace with France. De Gallas[62] and Buys were actively engaged in this. The vociferations "against the Ministers of Queen Anne were boundless. They were described as traitors to the Fatherland as well as to her Allies, as people corrupted by French money. Buys[63], in London, spoke of them neither more discreetly nor with more truth[64]..." Finally, the count of Gallas, ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire, was forbidden by the Court of Queen Anne for his excessive language and his misconduct.

As for Buys, "all the malcontents, whether Whigs or foreigners, were well received at his house; he took care to attract them and fulfilled perfectly the principal mission he had received of blowing fire[65] and of undertaking everything, either to ruin the New Ministers[66], or to re-establish their adversaries in possession of the Government. His intimate and principal liaison was Bothmar[67], *Envoyé* from the Duke of Hanover. This Duke, then the presumptive heir to the Crown of England, regarded the Whig party as the principal support of the succession established on behalf of the Protestant line, the first fruit of which was to be in his German House's favor.

The Whigs, on their part, looked forward to the Duke's reign, as the moment when, having become superior to their enemies, they would resume without

62 The Ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire until he fell into disgrace with Queen Anne Stuart. Buys represented the United Provinces.

63 Buys represented the United Provinces.

64 Torcy, Book III, Part III, p.123.

65 To *blow the fire* meant to *fan the flames of war*.

66 From the Tory Government.

67 Negotiator for Hanover, he was also accredited by the Holy Roman Empire when the Count of Gallas became *persona non grata*.

contradiction all the authority which the Torys had taken from them. But the union, the marches, and the urgings of the foreign Ministers were not sufficient to bring about this change before the Duke of Hanover reached the Crown of England[68]. Thus, all the opponents of Peace with France, including Bothmar[69], were doing their utmost to destabilize the British Government. The Duke of Marlborough himself urged Prince Eugene to come to London in the name of the Duke of Hanover to deliver a Memorandum to the Queen of Great Britain, urging her to cease negotiations with France.

They all wanted to continue the war in order to bring France down, crush her, strip her of her recent annexations and colonies, of her new concessions, overwhelm her, mortify her, make her atone for the century of humiliation that Europe had suffered at her hands, to make her pay for her papism, to return to the initial preliminaries of the 1709 negotiations, which were aimed solely at humiliating the Roi-Soleil.

In 1711, the Austrian Archduke Charles, elected new Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, had officially renounced the Spanish throne and his title of Charles III. He departed from Barcelona, where he had left his wife to represent him, and had gone to Frankfurt to be crowned there,

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68 Torcy, Tom.III, Part III. pp.123. The House of Hanover (or Brunswick) was a German royal dynasty that ruled the duchy of Brunswick-Luneburg (German: Braunschweig-Lüneburg), the Kingdom of Hanover, the Kingdom of Great Britain and the Kingdom of Ireland. The Kingdom of Great Britain included Scotland and England. It succeeded the House of Stuart in England in 1714 and lasted until the death of its last ruler in 1901, Queen Victoria. Her son, King Edward VII, belonged to the House of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, which became the House of Windsor in 1917 in anti-German reaction to the Great War.

69 Brydges, Vol.IX, p. 412... For service rendered, Bothmar became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland after the coronation of the Elector of Hanover as George the Ist of England. Collin's Peerage of England; Genealogical, Biographical, and Historical. Greatly augmented, and continued to the Present Time, by Sir Egerton Brydges, K.J., in Nine Volumes, Printed for F.C. and J. Rivington, Otridge and Son, J.Nichols and Co. T. Payne... etc., London, 1812.

on December 22nd, Charles VI, new Emperor of the Romans, according to his curious title. As for his personal determination to persevere in his predecessor's fight against France, it is certain that the Ministers of Queen Anne of England did not regard him as a warlord. Therefore, they were not too worried about his arrival at the head of the Holy Roman Empire. On the other hand, "they were not so calm about what the Duc de Hanover, considered and feared as the presumptive heir of the English Crown, thought. Bothmar, his Envoy to London, and Buys[70], closely connected with each other, were constantly fomenting the fire of revolt and sedition underhand. The only difference in their conduct consisted in the fact that the Dutch conformed [in appearance, at least] to the wishes of the Queen of England, Buys hid his steps which he believed to be correct, and in his speeches affected a sincere desire for Peace[71]."

In London, the Whig opposition was fierce against the pacifists and the London Merchant Lobbies (now anti-bellicose after ten years of blowing on the embers of war). The Whigs were spreading false rumors that the Tories' goal was to install on the English throne the Catholic Pretender emigrated to France, James III, otherwise known as James Francis Stuart, also known as the Knight of St. George, and who would later be nicknamed "*the Old Pretender*" after his son had ousted him from the younger generation[72] following the natural cycle of generations. All these rumors "were accompanied by other declamations

70 The Dutchman.

71 Torcy, Tom.III, Part III. p. 138. What he did not know was that French spies were watching him closely and immediately alerting the English.

72 Charles-Edouard Stuart also known as "Bonnie Prince Charlie" or "the Young Pretender".

against the perfidy of England... The Libels[73], composed in London, were carefully collected and sent to Holland and Germany, where they were printed[74]. The Whigs were plotting on all fronts and were even contemplating bringing the future German heir to Queen Anne's throne to England and seizing the throne by perpetrating a *coup d'état*, for Anne was so ill —under the effect of the "*succession powders*" which were presumably administered to her daily in infinitesimal quantities in order to give the appearance of failing health— that she could only hold out with cordials.

In the end, the date of January 12th, 1712 was set by Anne to open the Peace Conference. The King of France approved it. The Dutch, for their part, delayed as long as possible the issuance of passports for the plenipotentiaries who were to travel to their country, the United Provinces, to the site of the Conference. By this delaying action, they wanted to postpone the Peace as long as possible in the hope that the long-awaited death of the Queen of England would occur before the final and fatal signing. In the end, whether they were unable to carry out the fruits of their conspiracy or for some other reason, the Queen did not die until August 1st, 1714, after the important signatures of the Peace of Utrecht. The last initials of the Treaties of Utrecht were not affixed until September 7th, 1714 (in Baden), a month after Queen Anne's death. But the essential treaties had already been signed; the Treaty of Baden between Louis XIV and the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire only extended the clauses of the Treaty of Rastatt to

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73 Anti-English libels composed by the Allied Diplomatic Corps.

74 Torcy, Book III, Part III, p.117.

all the German principalities. It was too late to change the course of the war and of History

On December 18th, 1711, shortly before the opening of the Peace Conferences of Utrecht, the Queen of England went to Parliament to announce: "that she had thought fit to put an end to a war which was costing the Nation so much blood and treasure, and to end it by an honorable and advantageous peace[75]. At once, the Whigs in the House of Lords[76] rose up in fury against any peace treaty. For their only desire was to continue the war in order not to betray England's Allies and to definitively force France to give up Spain and its Indian Empire[77], which had to be returned to the House of Austria. In the Upper House, that of the Lords or Seigneurs, the warmongers won the victory by a short head[78].

In the Chamber of Municipalities, however, the Queen's speech was more successful in defeating the war party, for the peace party received 126 more votes. According to the French spies who were watching all this very closely, the war party did not use only democratic means to win. According to them "Marlborough and his followers had won by bribery even the Queen's servants, and eight of them were among those who voted against the intentions of this Princess. This bribery would have been, according to the laws of England, a crime of high treason, and the supporters of the Court spoke only of the Justice of having the head of the corrupter cut off[79]." Thank God,

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75 Torcy, Book III, Part III, p.145.

76 i.e., The Senate.

77 The Spanish Indian Empire is America.

78 By one vote only.

79 Torcy, Book III, Part III, p.145.

this did not happen, for the judges and prosecutors would undoubtedly have found the legal means of hanging the corrupt commoners without cutting off the heads of the corrupting aristocrats who had inspired and orchestrated the crime. In England, as elsewhere, each social class had its own means of atonement and its own seldom egalitarian Justice.

The Ministers of England, according to what knew the Marquis de Torcy, who directed the French espionage at the same time as the Foreign Affairs, "had the intention of striking [blows] at those who most strongly opposed the Queen's will. The most threatening then were the Dukes of Marlborough and Sommerset[80]. These particular and domestic acts of vengeance, more or less late, were quite indifferent to the consummation of the important work of Peace. The Ministers of England could be relied upon to determine the quality and time of the punishment of the enemies of the Queen, their Mistress[81]. Marlborough was certainly punished since he fell into disgrace with Queen Anne, after having been her favorite. He then lost his command on the battlefields, and as a pretext ---for one was needed— he was accused of embezzlement. But, although it was a pretext, the accusation was based on real facts. Marlborough shamelessly appropriated huge sums of

80 Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset (1662-1748), nicknamed the Proud Duke. In 1683, Somerset received an office in the House of the Catholic King of England: colonel of dragoons. But when William of Orange took power, the dragoon saw at once that William was the stronger; so Somerset became a Protestant and a supporter of the new King. A friend of Princess Anne since 1692, he left Marlborough and the Whigs as soon as he saw them fall into disgrace and became a Tory to remain in grace. His wife replaced the Princess of Marlborough as Mistress of the Robes to Queen Anne in 1711, and he became the Queen's Master of the Horse (i.e., Grand Squire) in 1702. In order to keep his privileges, he was not afraid to change his mind. But his slow (too slow) departure from the Whigs brought him retaliation from the Queen. Unfortunately for him, he eventually came to terms with it, but not so quickly that he was penalized by both political parties so that the death of Queen Anne was very harmful to his career as an opportunist and an upstart. The English political field was known to be like a minefield. One had to be careful where one stepped.

81 Torcy, Book III, Part III, pp.147-148.

money to pay the salaries of foreign troops in the service of England: the German mercenaries. And, not content with this income, which was added to his already considerable pay, he demanded enormous commissions from the munitionaries or suppliers to the armies[82]. This was not unusual for members of the Aristocracy, who could appropriate anything belonging to their subjects without feeling the slightest sense of guilt, while a common man was sentenced to the galleys for stealing an apple. Only one of these multiple charges against the Duke of Marlborough was for the prodigious sum of £420,000 sterling. The Duke, unworthy of seeing that his behavior —which he considered the fruit of a legitimate right— was unfairly exposed to the contemptible judgment of the populace, defended himself with vehemence and bitterness: "He replied in vain that the late King William [of Orange] had given the Captain-General of the Army the right to withhold from foreign troops the sums that this Prince had himself regulated and destined to maintain the Secret Correspondence [espionage]. Marlborough maintained that he had not required anything beyond this regulation, confirmed by order of the Queen given in July 1702. Notwithstanding his defenses, the Queen —for whom it was just a pretext— declared that she had judged it advisable to deprive the Due de Marlborough of all the employments with which he was covered, in order to leave the examination of so important an affair a course, free from all partiality and totally free[83]."

The invective of the Queen of England gave the members of the House of Commons the signal for the lynching of this disgraced general, who was undoubtedly

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82 Ammunition manufacturers who supplied the *ammunition* for food and combat.

83 Torcy, Livre III, Part IV, p.156.

the greatest English strategist in the History of England. It was no longer possible for anyone who did not enjoy the rank of an aristocrat in England to show the slightest sympathy and support for this fallen man, on pain of becoming the target of dangerous royal reprisals[84]. "The House of Commons, from which the greatest applause for the conduct of this General had come in previous years, decided that in accepting the annual gifts of the Munitionnaires of the Army of Flanders, this General[85] had done an illegitimate and untenable thing by withholding sums from the pay of the German foreign troops. The Grand-Treasurer had intended to carry his revenge further, but in England, returns are to be feared when fortune changes[86]. This reflection saved the life of his enemy[87]. The Duke of Marlborough was indicted and dismissed pending trial, while the Duke of Ormond was appointed Captain-General of the British Land Forces in his place. Queen Anne wisely created twelve new Peers to secure an absolute majority of votes in the House of Lords, which had voted against her. Such is the Democratic system, with which compromises can be made, but which remains, in spite of all these dishonest cheats that deceive the people and mock Democracy, the least pernicious form of Government.

Regardless of these setbacks, the stubborn pro-war Whigs did not give up. Prince Eugene arrived in London before the opening of the discussions, only a few days after the Duke of Marlborough had been charged with

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84 The Magna Carta, forcibly extracted from King John of England, protected the English barons, but left the people very vulnerable to the malevolence of the English kings and autocrats.

85 Who managed to win victories for England without practically killing any English soldiers.

86 Alluding to the fact that all of Queen Anne's children were dead, her successor was likely to be the Elector of Hanover, who was already leaning on the Marlboroughs and the Whigs to encourage the continuation of the war.

87 Torcy, Book III, Part IV, pp.156ff

embezzlement[88]. Before leaving London, after two months of consultations which had ended in complete failure, Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan went to find the Duke of Marlborough, who, at the end of his tether, suggested categorically that he should carry out a *coup d'état*; nothing more and nothing less. Moreover, there was an insidious rumor that the *States-General* of the United Provinces were planning a *coup d'état* in England as well. A squadron was to transfer to London the Duke-Elector of Hanover, the future heir to the English throne. The successive and systematic death of the sixteen children of Queen Anne, without exception, gave consistency to this hypothetical putsch. It seemed indisputable that these suspicious deaths had been carefully plotted by conspirators, as would also be the death of Queen Anne Stuart herself, only two years later, in pathetic and quite treacherous conditions, although no one dared to voice the slightest appearance of suspicion in public, for fear of suffering the same fate as the Queen.

This Dutch invasion and this *coup d'état* would be a kind of carbon copy of the Protestant expedition of 1688 that had dethroned and ousted the Catholic King of England and replaced him with the most fierce Dutch Protestant, William of Orange[89]. In considering this extreme solution, the Dutch gave the impression that they were beginning to see themselves as the Guardians of English Virtue. But, in the end, what citizen was not an

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88 "Marlborough was notoriously tight-fisted, regretting an annuity made to a clerk who had saved him from capture. He hoped to receive a sweetener of 2 million livres from Louis for promoting Peace, and happily made money from most of his offices." Military historian Brigadier Edward Richard Holmes. *Marlborough, England's Fragile Genius*, London, 2008.

89 William III, Prince of Orange (1650-March 8th 1702), also known as King William III of England, William II of Scotland and Ireland, is famous for having preceded the 1688 Protestant invasion of England (the Glorious Revolution) at the head of an army composed mainly of French Huguenot voluntaries, Dutch troops, and German mercenaries.

extremist in those days of religious fanaticism? It was predicted that the fight to return Queen Anne would be as bloody[90]. as in 1688 Prince Eugene" consulted principally with the Duke of Marlborough and Bothmar[91]. He wanted to know from both what they thought best to do for the common interest of the Allies. Marlborough, comparing the present state of England with that of the Kingdom in 1688, said that the present evils required the same remedies as the Prince of Orange and the Nation had employed at that time. Bothmar maintained, on the contrary, that they were impracticable, and based his reasoning on the fact that the Nation was in no way disposed to favor a revival: "thus the bad success of such an enterprise will," he said, "charge the authors of an unfortunate project with public hatred**[96]**[92].

Marlborough assured, on the contrary, that "the Nation would care very little for three heads, the remnant of Cromwell's party, and that the Tories, in particular, would be even more indifferent to their loss. But to reconcile the two opinions, Marlborough proposed to employ a band of unconfessed people [a scheme which evidently seemed to tempt many in this divided London], to encourage them to run through the streets by night, and under the pretext of buffoonery, to insult the passers-by, and finally, to

90 In fact, blood did not flow in England in 1688 (Glorious Revolution) to overthrow the King of England, but it flowed in abundance in Ireland, where the supporters of the Catholic King had taken refuge.

91 The Hanoverian diplomat, Baron von Bothmar, who also represented Austria and thus the Holy Roman Empire.

92 Swift, History of the Reign of Queen Anne of England. Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) was an Anglo-Irish clergyman, writer, political critic, and poet, first for the Whigs and then for the Tories. He became dean of St. Patrick's Church in Dublin. At his death, he bequeathed his fortune to found a hospital for the mentally handicapped called St. Patrick's Hospital for Imbeciles, which opened in 1757. The hospital still exists under a more appropriate name.

increase little by little the licentiousness[93] of the people, and to commit greater disorders from day to day. He pretended that when the People and inhabitants of London would be accustomed to the insults of these night runners, it would not be difficult to assassinate such persons as one would judge appropriate to get rid of, and to impute the crime on this licentious band[94]." Finally, afterward, it would be enough to hang the leaders to definitively bury into complete oblivion, the names of the agitators, and consequently of those who had orchestrated the social unrest, in other words, the real guilty aristocrats. The London cockneys of the crowd would suffer the fate of the pyramid builders, executed afterward to prevent them from revealing the secret of the labyrinths.

Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan rejected this plot, which was as Machiavellian as it was criminal and unworthy of a great family like the Churchills. Moreover, Sir Winston Churchill was careful not to mention it in the biography of his illustrious ancestor. This scrupulous project confirmed in the minds of those who still had doubts that the moral fiber of the man (the Duke of Marlborough) could really accommodate reprehensible acts of more than dubious morality, such as the embezzlement and theft of mercenary pay by premeditated delays intended to wait for the fighting to reduce the strength of the battalions and thus allow the general-in-chief to appropriate the pay arrears of the dead instead of passing them on to the needy widows or legal heirs.

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93 That is to say, *derangement, drifting, deviation, dissolution, overflows* or *dechainement*. License comes from the Latin *licet, licuit* and *licitum est, licere* = to let, to allow.

94 Torcy, Book III, Part III, pp164ff.

Prince Eugene presented another project[95], no less diabolical, which was rejected by Whig leaders such as Halifax and Cowper. It consisted in seizing the sacred person of the Queen outright and forcing her to dissolve Parliament in order to elect another more favorable to the continuation of hostilities. Consequently, in London, the Tory government, warned by French Intelligence spies, "took greater precautions for the safety of the Queen, and to prevent all danger. Her guard was doubled; several gates of St. James's Palace were closed, and various mounted guards were posted in the vicinity. Prince Eugene was even given an escort to accompany him during the whole day, under the pretext of guaranteeing him from the insults of the populace. And his departure for the Netherlands calmed all agitation[96]. Meanwhile, the Dutchman diplomat Buys, who had previously been so obnoxious to the Tories, agreed to leave England only after signing an agreement on behalf of his country, in which the English guaranteed that no secret treaty had been signed with France! Queen Anne, exasperated by the suspicions inflicted on her, signed this false declaration because she "hoped that such complacency on her part would make them more docile[97]."

Louis XIV did not forget his loyal allies (the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne[98]) who had been detained and exiled. The French demanded their "re-establishment in the States, Honors and Dignities of which they had been deprived, [as well as] the restitution of their effects, the reparation of the losses that one and the other had suffered.

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95 Mentioned on page 1 66 of Book III by Torcy.

96 Torcy, Book III. Part.IV., pp. 169-170. The bodyguards of Prince Eugene of Savoy were intended to keep watch over him and to prevent him from making political and social agitation.

97 Ibid., Book III, Part.IV., p.170

98 Joseph Clemens Kajetan von Bayern, prince-bishop of Cologne, et Maximilien II Emmanuel, Prince-Elector of Bavière.

Finally, a compensation in favor of the Elector of Bavaria, for whom the Sovereignty over the Spanish Netherlands would replace[99].



If we go back a little in time to the theatre of military operations, some surprise attacks by Frankish groups[100] had, in May, destroyed two English battalions escorting a convoy of chickens. On July 6, 1711, the fortress of Arleux was retaken by the Allies. This created a dangerous gap in the French defensive lines protecting the territory of northern France.

On July 9, 1711, Villars had suddenly attacked the camp of Hompesch on the glacis of Douai. The military installations had been practically annihilated. Before withdrawing, the French totally destroyed the Anglo-Allied camp, taking away the baggage and supplies. Marlborough had been greatly humiliated by this and had rebuilt the entrenched camp with much more elaborate works in order to cover the fort of Arleux more seriously. On July 22, Montesquiou had again attacked Arleux by direct assault. Instead of sending reinforcements from his cantonments in the area, Marlborough sent Cadogan with 30 Cavalry squadrons and all of the Lillers Grenadiers to the rescue of

99 Ibid., Book III, Part.IV., p.170.

100 We would call them *commandos* today, and at various times they bore the more common names of foragers or their leaders'name: Les Grassins, Les La Morlière or Les Cantabres. The first two Corps were named after the patronym of the leader who formed them and the last one after their geographical origin [the Basque Country]. In the same way, there was also the Kiéfer Commando during the Second World War.

Arleux. But General Cadogan, who for some unknown reason had been dragging his feet, arrived too late. The French had already taken Arleux by storm, and its entire English garrison was taken prisoner. Villars then had the fortifications of Arleux completely razed to the ground... much to the delight of the civilian population of the town, who did not appreciate all this attention that the international strategists were paying to them[101] .

On September 12th, 1711, the fortress of Bouchain surrendered unconditionally to the Allies, under the eyes of the Marechal de Villars, who could hardly contain his desire to intervene by violating the express orders of his King.

The *French marshal was not yet aware of the agreement between the French and the English*. The 2500 surviving defenders were taken p.o.w. The fortress of Bouchain was taken over by the French the following year in 1712. Bouchain was the last conquest and command of Marlborough. The behavior of this general, who had refused the battle at Villars before Cambrai, was extremely criticized by the Dutch, the Austrians and even [and especially] the English. Indeed, in London, the anti-Marlborough *clique* was becoming more virulent. His crossing of the fortified lines was described as nonsense, and the siege of Bouchain as an *unnecessary loss of life*.

At the request of the House of Commons, the Duke was subsequently, as we have already said, indicted for fraud, extortion, and embezzlement. He had received, among other things, a commission of £63,000 from

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101 On the other hand, in the XXI century, the same fortifications would have attracted tourists. Nothing is perfect!

military bread contracts. To these accusations, the Duke replied that this was the Commander-in-Chief's allowance in Flanders, intended for the Secret Service. In a forceful speech in Parliament on December 18, 1711, before the Queen herself, the Tory Parliamentary Speaker, Thomas Hanmer, ripped the Duke to shreds in these words: "The other party of the report concerned the Duke of Marlborough, who had received large sums, in the form of gratification from entrepreneurs who supplied bread to the Army. The Duke, in the letter he wrote to the Commissioners, alleged as excuse the conduct of the other Generals, who had done the same thing. But this excuse seemed frivolous. One felt perfectly the disastrous consequences of such a conduct and that the entrepreneurs had not given him this money than to commit it to turning a blind eye to the monopoly of which they wore out with the troops. How the frauds of the chiefs always influence the subordinates who have a part in the business, it was recognized in this occasion only *for every thousand pounds sterling that the General had received, the soldiers had lost at least four thousand*[102].

There was in this report [Hanmer continued], a second article against the Duke, who was infinitely more important. The largest part of His Majesty's forces in Flanders were mercenairies provided by various Princes of Europe. It was discovered that the Queen Anne's General had withheld 2'/2% of *the troops' pay*[103], which he employed for his own use. That money amounted per year to a considerable amount. The Duke of Marlborough strove to conceal this conduct in the letter I mentioned... [He replied] to the Commissaries "that this deduction was a *free*

102 Segment not highlighted in Swift's original text.

103 Swift.

donation made to him by the foreign troops, that he had negotiated with them by order of the late King, and that the Queen had allowed him to receive and to keep.

He replied that it was intended for certain particular jobs, that *the £10,000 which the Parliament gave him annually, was not sufficient for him; he employed it entirely for that purpose*." Let us note by the way that a rank and file soldier gained *five sols a day (90 pounds a year) and that the Duke received the pay of 110 rank and file soldiers.* The Commissioners replied "that this permission had been suspended for the last nine years," that it was not registered at the Secretariat of Statements, and that during all that time Parliament had not had any knowledge of this monetary levy. [He replied that] if it wouldn't have been a gift free from the troops, there would have been no need to stipulate with the soldiers, as the Duke claimed to have done; and that the order carried, and that since the latter proved that this restraint was intended to meet the extraordinary expenses of the Army, it could not apply it to secret uses." The Chamber to decide whether the order was legitimate or duly countersigned. The Commissioners added that "no receipt of the money which came from this deduction, than there was no mention in the receipts of foreign troops, which always bore full receipt, in a word, that the total sum amounted to almost £300,000 sterling."

The House, after having long discussed this matter, decided that the Duke of Marlborough, thus receiving money from those who had undertaken the supply of troop, "had acted against the Laws, and that it could not be justified, and that the two and a half percent of levy on the Foreign troops were money that belonged to the public, and that he had to be held accountable." The Chamber

communicated this decision to the Queen, who promised to remedy the abuses of which she was complaining... The Procurator-General was ordered to institute proceedings against the Duke, concerning the money which he had embezzled, and which amounted to a sum large enough to ruin any other person than himself[104].

At the end of the same Speech by Speaker Thomas Hanmer, on December 18, 1711 the Tory lecturer added about the profiteers of war, that "the means[105] which was first proposed to shorten the war, is the very one which made it drag on; for those who have found their interest, have not been disposed to put a stop to it. And Your Majesty will feel by this the reason why so many people took pleasure in a war, which provided them annually with so rich a harvest from Great Britain. So that Marlborough was not the only one to suffer a penalty for dishonesty, Robert Walpole, former Whig Secretary of State for War, was himself locked up in the Tower. He had received 500 guineas as a bribe to conclude a contract for the purchase of fodder for the Army and had been promised another 500 guineas[106]. The speaker then tried to convince congressmen and senators of the extreme urgency of implementing the Government's pacifist policy. Of course, the most convincing and peremptory argument, the public debt, was emphasized: "It only remains for us to speak to Your Majesty about the subsidies which she pays to foreign Princes. These subsidies, at the beginning of the war, were shared between Your Majesty and the States-General; but in this case again, the balance has tipped to the prejudice of Your Majesty, for it appears that she has advanced more than

104 Swift, Book III.

105 Swift, Book III, p.226.

106 Ibid.p.166

3,155,000 ecus, in addition to the extraordinary [sums] which she has paid in Italy, which are not included in any of the preceding articles, and which amount to £539,553. Your Majesty has spent more than **£19,000,000** in the course of this war... without any of the Confederates having contributed their slightest share[107]." These numbers obviously give a small idea of the enormity of the debt accumulated by the English Government to blow on the embers of the war —as the expression of the time— so that the English lobbies could regain their commercial privileges in Spain and throughout the Spanish Empire.

Finally, on December 3 1, 1711, the Duke of Marlborough was officially dismissed as Commander-in-Chief. The Duke of Ormond was appointed generalissimo in his place. All this was only a screen for the general public. Even if the English general had really behaved extraordinarily bad by rapacity and spirit of unbridled hoarding, the reality was that Marlborough was dismissed because he refused to do the Peace with the French and abandon the Allies on the battlefields. It was necessary to dismiss this *go-to-war* under any pretext[108] to replace him with a Duke of Ormond ready to obey the Queen of England, that is, ready to obey the supporters of Peace.

The French Army of Villars had for its part received from Louis XIV orders to avoid pitched battles; so as not

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107 Ibid. speech of Mr. Thomas Hanmer to Queen Anne in the Parliament of England, December 18, 1711, Book Three, p. 223 et seq.

108 Forty years later, Joseph-Francois Dupleix, the greatest of the French colonial governors, was also dismissed by Louis XV in an attempt to appease London and thus avoid a colonial conflict in the East Indies with England. This maneuver turned out to be useless and produced the opposite effect, justifying for the minister Machault his nickname of "the most stupid minister of the reign of Louis XV". What was left of Dupleix's work was done away within an instant, and he himself was forced to embark for France, on October 12, 1754, to the great joy of the English. In so doing, the field was given to England, which implemented a policy of conquest strictly copied from that of Dupleix. Dupleix died in 1763m forgotten, in poverty, misery and humiliation.

to play the future of France on a single dice shot, since it was enough to buy one of the enemies, the richest one, to de-empower the entire Coalition. Strategically speaking, the latter campaign of 1811 had been extremely beneficial to the French.

This is by the mere fact that Marlborough had committed multiple blunders and mistakes that his Tory enemies had been able to use as alternative pretexts for having him revoked by Queen Anne and replaced by the General-Duke of Ormond[109] very subject to the decisions of the Tories, of Queen Anne, and, by the same token... of the London Lobbies.



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[109] James Butler, 2nd Duke of Ormond [1665-1745] was an English soldier and statesman. He fought at the siege of Luxembourg [1684] and at Sedgemoor [1685]. He later submitted to the Protestant King William III of Orange and fought at La Boyne, Steinkerque and Landen where he was taken prisoner by the French. In 1702 he became general of the Cavalry and commanded the expeditions to Cadiz and Vigo. Appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland [from 1703 to 1705; from 1710 to 1711, and in 1713], he replaced Marlborough as Captain General of the Confederate Army in 1712. He was heavily involved in Britain's decision to abandon the war, but was driven out of Government in 1715 by the new King of England, George I of German birth, and became an ardent Jacobite [i.e., pro-Catholic]. He died in exile in Spain. [Dictionary of National Biography and Dalton, C., British Army Lists and Commissions Registers, London 1898-1904, 6 volumes]

Opening of the Official Conferences in Utrecht

(January 1712)

Thus began the year 1712. The war had lasted more than ten years and the peoples of Europe were feverishly waiting for Peace; this Peace of which all these ambitious and selfish princes only preoccupied with their egoist interests, have abusively dispossessed them. Fighting was happening all over the world, but not all events were depressing. Thus, when, that year, the French privateer Cassard[110] plundered Surinam, the big Dutch plantation landowners fled and their slaves took advantage of it to take off into the virgin forest, after looting the houses of their masters. Thus liberated, they created *the Autonomous Republic of the Maroons*[111].

Prince Eugène de Savoie-Carignan[112], –whose name for us, Québécois, evokes intimately our roots since the vermeil blood of the soldiers of the Carignan Regiment flows in the veins of our *coureurs-de-bois*[113]–, Eugène,

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110 Jacques Cassard.

111 The maroons are runaway slaves in the mountains. They were often mestizo, hence their name. According to others, the word maroon comes from the Spanish word 'cimarrones', which meant 'mountaineers'.

112 Eugene-Francois de Savoie-Carignan (born in Paris 1663 - died in Vienna 1736), known as Prince Eugène, famous general of the imperial Army. Son of Eugene-Maurice de Savoie-Carignan, count of Soissons, and Olympe Mancini, niece of Cardinal Mazarin, whose descendants ruled the Kingdom of Italy from 1861 to 1946. Humiliated by the disgrace of his mother, compromised in the affair of the poisons, Eugene (who happened to be homosexual) left the France of king Louis XIV who had refused to give him the command of his Army, and entered as a volunteer in the service of Austria in 1683). He swore to return to France only with arms in his hand. A traitor to his country, he became so famous in the Holy Roman Empire that Hitler named a battlecruiser Prinz Eugen after him in 1938, which, curiously, like Prince Eugene, also served with his country's enemies, the United States. Indeed, the ship became in 1945 the USS PRINZ EUGEN and was used as a target for American atomic tests. It capsized and sank.

113 The Regiment of Carignan was raised in 1642 by Thomas-Francois de Savoie, Prince of Carignan. In 1665, King Louis XIV granted an important help to the defense of New France and

therefore, was a Parisian still as hateful for the King Louis XIV who had refused him to command the French Army. Eugene said at the opening official negotiations "that France was willing to make Peace on such terms that the life of a Grenadier did not deserve to be refused[114]. That is to say*, at all costs.* It was obvious, first that he was not in the secret of the diplomatic gods, and secondly, that the life of a simple soldier did represent nothing for him. He who had suffered from contempt and ruthless condemnation of his social class for his unorthodox behavior (he was homosexual), should have displayed some esteem for all.

In Utrecht, the plenipotentiaries finally arrived. The Marshall d'Uxelles, Abbé Melchior de Polignac[115] and M. Mesnager represented France; the Keeper of the Privy Seal, Prior and the Earl of Strafford, England. The Dutchman Buys, taking advantage of the fact that the The city of Utrecht was located in his country, the United Provinces, had striven, as mentioned above, to delay issuance of diplomatic passports, necessary for the Plenipotentiaries of all nations who were to go to the scene of the Peace Conference. He wanted to win time with the despair of the

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sent 1300 soldiers (2 battalions) belonging to the Regiment of Carignan-Salières to pacify the Iroquois. On June 18, 1665, the first contingent of the Régiment de Carignan-Salières, commanded by Colonel de Salieres, landed in Quebec. The Regiment de Carignan-Salieres successively confronted the Iroquois and the Dutch at Schenectady, New York. It also launched two war expeditions to Iroquoisia. In 1666, these troops defeated the Iroquois; and Peace was restored to the area in 1667. The ensuing Treaty recognized the sovereignty of the French King and assured the colony 16 years of peaceful development. Once this mission was accomplished, the King wished that part of these battalions remain in New France to help the colony. He then offered the soldiers the possibility of settling and granted them land on the banks of the St.Lawrence to become farmers. Louis XIV gave the officers and soldiers food for a year and gratuities according to their rank (100 livres for the soldiers and a higher amount, of course, for the noble officers who thus became seigneurs). More than 400 of them agreed to stay. The massive arrival of the filles-du-roi (orphelines), between 1663 and 1673, helped to restore the fragile demographic balance of the colony. The presence of the Carignan Regiment put an end to the Iroquois threat, and the efforts of Colbert and Intendant Talon increased Quebec's population from 4,000 to 6,300 within a few months. Source, MEF (Mouvement estrien pour le français).

114 Swift, Book Two, p.145.

115 Later cardinal, academician, poet, ambassador... Pierre Paul, Le cardinal Melchior de Polignac (1661-1741), Plon, Paris, 1922.

condemned to death who takes his time to smoke his last cigarette or drink his last glass of rum. Perhaps Queen Anne would eventually die and pass the hand. to his more bellicose successor; thus the war could continue eternally. Under international pressure, Buys had the passports delivered.

Thanks to these delays caused by the cunning Dutchman and by all those who aspired to continue the war indefinitely, until the King of France asks for grace, the plenipotentiaries did not arrive in Utrecht until January 19th, 1712, and the Peace Conferences was not able to open before the 29th of the same month. The very pathetic English, the Bishop of Bristol, the Earl of Stafford, and Prior had been expressly ordered not to consort ostensibly with the French. On the contrary, they had to give the impression that they considered themselves to be enemies of the French plenipotentiaries, so as not to be seen as traitors or to suggest that there was a secret understanding between the two nations, or that there was a secret liaison or an undisclosed agreement between the two nations. The French, on the other hand, tried to simulate a great cordiality vis-à-vis the English in order to signal to the other Allies that the games were played no matter what they could do or say.

The general behavior of all other Allied plenipotentiaries had also changed. The desire to humiliate Louis XIV had totally disappeared from the minds of the belligerents. Thanks to the Royal-Bribe, the grin of frustration, first displayed by the French in The Hague and Gertruydenberg in front of the wry and even sardonic smile of the Allies, came to stick together, like masks of great Greek tragedies, on Dutch, Austrian and German faces,

while the English, uncomfortable, took a look a little embarrassed and tried to be convinced that by their intelligent Machiavellianism*, they had succeeded in restoring to the innocent peoples of Europe this dear long-awaited Peace, so desired.* Which, basically, was perfectly correct.

On January 29 at 10h in the morning, the Allied Plenipotentiaries entered with great pomp in the magnificent Town Hall of Utrecht by one door and the French by another. It was a collection of ten interconnected medieval buildings which formed an impenetrable labyrinth on several floors[116]. All manner of secret meetings were possible in such an interweaving of dimly lit corridors and salons, large and small, which seemed to have been devised by a perverse lovelace, eager for secret encounters.

The English of course entered through one of the monumental gates, along with their original Allies of the *Grande Alliance*, while the French looked on in amusement. The French, however, remained confident of their unwavering loyalty thanks to the insatiable appetite of their London Merchant Lobbies. Dr Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, Keeper of the Small Seal and English Chief Plenipotentiary, opened the noble *Assemblée* with a short speech in well-styled French: "*Messieurs, Nous voici assemblés au nom de Dieu, pour faire un Traité de pacification générale entre les Hauts-Allies et* [turning to the French] *le Roi votre Maître*. We come with sincere intentions and with express orders from our superiors, to contribute on their part to everything that can halt and complete such a Christian and salutary work... by explaining

116 In 1997, the municipality hired the Spanish architect Enrique Miralles to renovate these historic premises by adding a glass wing and transparent elements that artfully integrate it with the old buildings.

to you with as much clarity as frankness... in such a sincerely just and reasonable manner[117]." This very diplomatic introduction involved Justice, Reason, Sincerity and above all God.

England had until then only put forward his deep desire to make Peace with France, because, it claimed, the burdens of the war were too heavy for its budget. But no one among the High Allies knew that the real motivations of England were quite other. "*None of the Allies had knowledge of secret agreements that already existed between England and France*[118]", but when the Marquis d'Huxelles listed the French proposals, they were immediately denounced by other plenipotentiaries as treating England's Allies as defeated countries. Only two nations could claim to have won this war, the French who were going to impose a French Bourbon, Philip V d'Anjou, on the throne of Spain[119], and the English who were to obtain a Royal Bribe. Immediately, the High Allies assumed that the English had switched sides. Trust no longer prevails.

During one of the first Conferences, the High Allies decided that it would no longer be an English Secretary who would take the minutes, but a Dutchman. This gave the Queen of England, on learning this detail, the pretext of feigning the holy anger of outraged Virtue, for she wished to make it appear that she regarded this dislike as an unjust disrespect for her person. The English historian Swift, who wished by contrast to show his country in a less sinister light, tried to cast a shadow over the behavior of

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117 Swift, Book Four, p.296 et seq.

118 Winston Churchill, Marlborough, His Life and Times, University of Chicago Press. Chapitre 32, The Restraining Orders, 1712-January-May, p.939

119 The very purpose of this war.

the Dutch by writing that "the Plenipotentiaries of England were right in suspecting that the Dutch were secretly plotting to take some separate measures with France, through the agency of a man named Molo, This was what made them so vexatious and nonchalant in their dealings, in the hope of breaking off the Congress and obtaining better conditions in their trade and for their [strategic] Barrier from France than we were prepared to grant them. The Dutch Ministers also endeavored to win the good graces of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, with a view to securing for themselves all the advantages of trade with Spain, in case the Emperor remained possessor of that Kingdom[120].

When the Dutchman Buys learned that the English had obtained the entire *Slave Trade to Latin America for thirty years*, jealous, he was invaded by a holy ire and "complained of the advantages which England had stipulated with France and insisted that they had to share them with his masters, especially with regard to the Treaty of Asiento[121]". But there was no way England would agree to share such a juicy bone. Jonathan Swift, outraged in his primary patriotism, confirms this clearly: "the Queen being resolved never to grant the States[122] any share in the Asiento[123]." Were they going to tear each other apart over this bone marrow of contention? Buys insisted at length to the Treasurer of England that the United Provinces would forget that the King of Spain was French, but only if England offered them a chunk of the Slave Trade in Latin America. Buys promised him "to commit his masters to

120 Swift, Book Four, pp.299-300.

121 Ibid., Book Four,

122 The States-General, (The Lower-Countries or Holland toLes Pays Bas ou Holland for short).

123 Swift, Book Four, p.295.

withdraw from the article which concerned Spain[124]" and to consent to it, on condition that the English share with us the *Asiento for the Negroes,* to which Harley, Earl of Oxford, Great Treasurer of England, i.e. Chancellor of the Exchequer, replied "that he would rather lose his mind than to consent to such an offer[125] "... By an effort of this policy, in which it may be said that they surpassed all the other peoples of Christianity, the English were spying the moment to make their move, by taking advantage of the misfortunes into which they had plunged their neighbors and their Allies."

In the name of great principles of pseudo morality, the Grand Treasurer demonized at will the Dutch who opposed an *Entente for Peace*. As Queen Anne said, undoubtedly with a very good conscience: "God would not permit that the enemies of Public Peace should still have the liberty to pass laws contrary to the happiness of so many Nations[126]". Her enemies had become the enemies of the Peace of the Peoples. Henceforth, the Will of God corresponded precisely with that of the Merchant Lobbies! It was like arriving at the already distant time of the Soviets (two centuries later) that demonized all those who wanted to follow a path other than themselves) One can see in these lines to what extent English politicians and historians had the gift of blaming the Dutch for their own faults, accusing them of all their sins. In order to force them to be manipulated, they accused them of being the enemies of Peace, of being war profiteers, and this by repeating demonizing slogans that stigmatize and scourge

124 The need to exclude the House of Bourbon from the Spanish throne.

125 Swift, Book Four, p.276

126 Swift, Book Four, p.249.

their Allies. Did the English invent all the propaganda systems that the Soviets used two centuries later?

"The French were no less radiant, especially in scrutinizing the confused faces of the Allies who had been deeply mortified by events: "We take the fact that the Dutch had in Gertruydenberg, and they take ours. It is an act of full revenge. The Count of Sinzendorff feels his decadence[127] very keenly."

The English had signed the Treaty just in time. A few more weeks could have been fatal to them. Around October, the French had retaken the fortress of Douai, and the Allies redoubled their demands for a ceasefire. The odious Preliminaries of Previous Conferences were forgotten; odious since they were only intended to prohibit any agreement. The traditionally victorious France was a time found on its knees under the weight of the whole of Europe; vast humiliation for the vain Sun King, accustomed to ruling Europe like his backyard.

But suddenly, at the end of February 1712, a series of alarming events gave some anguish to the English plenipotentiaries, and some hope to the other Allies. It was announced that the Duke of Burgundy, who in turn had become dauphin[128], had died on February 27th, 1712, only six days after the Dauphine Marie-Adélaïde de Savoie, his wife had died on February 12th. This Duke was the same one who had deliberately provoked the French defeat at Oudenarde by refusing to obey Marshal Vendôme, because he found it quite grotesque that an aristocrat should

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[127] Cardinal Melchior de Polignac (1661-1741), one of the French Plenipotentiaries, wrote with humor.

[128] After the death of Louis, dauphin of France and father of the King of Spain, dead in April 1711.

have to submit to a commoner! The Duke, therefore, went to join the plebeian soldiers whose death he had thoughtlessly caused at Oudenarde. He must then, among them, have felt humbled, and finally measured the vanity of his absurd earthly Social Class' pride.

Then, on March 8th, 1712, the destruction of the order of succession resumed its inexorable march. That was the turn of the Duke of Brittany (5 years old), eldest son of the last dauphin of France. All these deaths put the Allies on their guard, because they feared that France and Spain, short of heirs, would be reunited under one and the same Crown. All this "*blue blood*", corrupted by inbreeding, populated the Aristocracy with sub-humans full of… vanity.

The Dutch and the Austrians returned to hoping that any arrangement would be *impossible* and that the war should continue. But again, England was anxious to prevent France from finding itself in the alternative of continuing hostilities, which would inevitably have led to the irretrievable loss of their gigantic bakchich —of their juicy marrow bone— to the London Merchant Lobbies. Branlebas of combat! The situation and the Bribe had to be saved at all costs! England, therefore, dispatched to the Conference of Utrecht another Harley, cousin, and namesake of the Treasurer of Great Britain, with secret orders from the Queen of England[129].

Queen Anne proposed to Abbé Gaultier various alternatives intended to satisfy the Allies "It was even added that Harley[130]" had the power to deal with the

129 Torcy, Book III, Part.IV. p177.

130 Arrived from London on April 2, 1712.

Plenipotentiaries of France, *independently* of those of England[131]. The King [of France] did not believe the latter circumstance because it was not likely that an Individual without Character dared to deal secretly, without the participation of the Plenipotentiaries, in the very place where they were assembled for Peace[132]."

No progress was made in this atmosphere of fear and betrayal where the Allies [The Dutch and the Austrians] were riddled with suspicion without irrefutable proof that they had been rolled in the flour of ridicule by their sworn enemies, the French, as well as by their bribed English pseudo-Allies. It was clear and manifest that "only the English interests were taken into consideration[133]."

With so many deaths at the French Court, all of Europe became nervous as *the laws of the Kingdom of France did not allow an heir to disavow his inheritance*. Consequently, in spite of any official renunciation, a French prince could not renounce the throne of Spain. It was, therefore, necessary to tackle the problem from another angle. It was found that if the King of France could not legally renounce the Crown of Spain, the Iberian laws allowed the King of that country to renounce his rights to the succession of France. It was therefore expected that the King of Spain would, if possible, remove the thorn from the negotiator's side by renouncing the French Crown himself.

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131 Who were, as we have said, Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, Keeper of the Small Seal, and Earl of Stafford.

132 Torcy, Book III, Part.IV, p.177

133 Churchill, Chapter 32, The Restraining Orders, 1712 - January-May, p. 939 "English interests alone were privileged. "

However, the negotiations stalled. It was necessary to arm oneself with patience. This was because Spain was far away, geographically speaking. It was that the *King Catholic* would agree to renounce the throne of France without this renunciation violating the Spanish laws. Queen Anne, who wanted at the highest point to untie the *Gordian Knot* made an ingenious proposal to the Spanish monarch. Necessity breeds ingenuity, as need creates the organ. The new King of all Spains had a choice "or well to renounce the rights of his birth[134]" and to keep the Monarchy of Spain and India; or to renounce the Monarchy of Spain and India, and thus to retain its rights to succession in France. [He would receive] in place of the Crown of Spain [as compensation in addition to the Crown of France] the Kingdom of Sicily of which he was currently in possession, that of Naples, the States of the Duke of Savoy, on condition that, if he or any of his descendants should one day succeed in taking the Crown of France, all these exchanged States would be reunited under the same Crown, with the exception only of Sicily, of which the House of Austria would be put into possession. Following this project, the Duke of Savoy would receive the Crown of Spain and India"[135] in exchange of its Estates."

The Queen of England showed unparalleled ingenuity in breaking the deadlock, and unquestionable generosity in distributing territories that did not belong to her. She did not, however, push her sense of prodigality to the point of allocating the now English strongholds such as Gibraltar or Minorca. In the end, it was up to the King of Spain to determine his choice. He simply and wisely chose to keep on his head the Crown of Spain that he already had,

134 Concerning the throne of France.

135 Torcy, Book Three, Part.IV, pp.188-189.

and to renounce that of France, which he might never inherit. It was a great pride for the Spanish People.

One can imagine that, at times, the relations between the various groups of diplomats who dabbled while watching each other from the corner of their eyes, in the great swamp of the City Hall of Utrecht, were not the best, especially with the suspicions hovering above all as evil vultures. The sideways glances, facial pouts, mimics, rictus, frowns of eyebrows, and the smiles of the French plenipotentiaries and their bloated staff were carefully examined and analyzed with great attention by the Allies. Needless to say the French showed some tendency to look at Austrians, Dutch and other Germans with an air that some considered of arrogance or mockery. These Frenchmen, whom the Roman Conquerors had once ironically[136] nicknamed "*the Roosters*" for their arrogance and their impertinence, had not changed one iota. From time to time, outbursts of rage erupted. Tired of frustration at seeing the French shower the English with benefits, the Dutch and the Austrians became extremely touchy.

Swift tells us that "the conduct of the *Imperial* Minister caused no less embarrassment than that of the *States-General*; these two Powers seemed entirely disposed either to break off the Negotiations, or to obtain from the Queen of England the advantages which they promised themselves[137]."

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136 Detail revealed by Professor Jean-Louis Brunaux, researcher at the CNRS, attached to the laboratory of Ar- cheology of the ENS, author of Les Druides, des philosophes chez les Barbares, Editions du Seuil, Paris, 2006; and also Voyage en Gaule, Editions du Seuil, Paris, 201 1 . The Latin word gallus means both rooster and Gaul.

137 Also confirmed by Torcy, p. 301.

One of the Dutch plenipotentiaries, the Count of Rechteren, showed how difficult it was for these professional diplomats to master their anxieties and anger; or perhaps it was intentionally provoked in order to keep the negotiations going as long as possible in the hope that the Queen Anne's death would come to revive hostilities and wipe out that unquenchable English thirst for "general peace", which was difficult to explain in Allied circles. Thus, a few days after the French victory of Denain in July 1712, the Count of Rechteren[138] claimed that, passing in his coach before the door of Mesnager, the lackeys of this French plenipotentiary "had insulted his own [lackeys] by grimaces and indecent gestures[139]." Everyone knows that there is nothing more arrogant than a lackey. In any case, the Count of Rechteren "sent his Secretary bring his complaints to their Master and ask him for satisfaction of such an offense, adding that, otherwise, he would be obliged to do it himself[140]. Mesnager replied in writing, that, although it was only a question of a lackey's quarrel, he was very far from approving that his own people were insulting other servants, especially those of Rechteren; that he was ready to hand over to him the lackeys that this Deputy had seen committing these indecencies, or even that his people would prove to be the perpetrators.

Rechteren had gone to The Hague, when the answer was brought to his home and put back in its absence to Moerman, one of his colleagues. On his return, he sent his Secretary to ask Mesnager satisfaction of the offense of which he had complained. Mesnager made him give the same answer that he had already given, and Rechteren

138 Adolph Henrik van Rechteren was a Dutch Plenipotentiary.

139 Segment highlighted by italics in the original text. Torcy, pp. 251 ff.

140 Satisfaction, of course, which is surprising.

confessed that he had not seen the grimaces or the indecent acts of which he claimed to be offended. But it would be appropriate, he said, that he had the freedom to send a witness to the house of Mesnager, to know those whom he thought he had some reason to complain[141]."

One would have thought that the dispute would be calmed down in this way, and it would have probably been if Rechteren's intention had not been to create a diplomatic incident intended to lead to a breakup. But it happened that a few days later, "Mesnager and Rechteren found themselves together with other Plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces. They and the United Provinces' personnel have come to the public promenade of the Utrecht Mall. After some civilities, Rechteren told the Plenipotentiary of France that he was still waiting for the satisfaction he had requested. Mesnager referred to the answer he had already given, and added that the lackeys disowned everything that the others imputed to them. Rechteren insisted on the search he claimed to be doing in the house of Mesnager[142]. When the latter refused to grant permission to make the accusers investigate of the accused, Rechteren replied: "The Master and the valets will therefore do justice to themselves. I have the character of a Sovereign as well as you, and I am not a man to receive insults. After this speech, he spoke Dutch to some servants who followed him. A few moments later, the lackeys of Mesnager arrived, complaining that those of Rechteren had attacked them from behind, hit them on the face, and threatened

141 Torcy, p.301 ff

142 The desire to search a diplomat's house, which normally enjoys extraterritoriality, is intended to create a diplomatic crisis that could interrupt negotiations and delay Peace. Proportionately, one cannot help but think of the Austrian request to investigate in Serbia, in 1914, the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, which was the last pretext for the outbreak of the First World War.

with a stabbing. Rechteren said out loud: "Whenever they do, I will reward them, and if they don't do it. I would chase them away." His colleagues tried to excuse such a behavior, and not being able to, they denied the speeches that Rechteren had held, although several Deputies of the United-Provinces had heard them[143]."

Most Dutch Deputies wished this unfortunate affair to be treated as a mere quarrel of valets, because the United Provinces had more to lose than to gain by creating dissension with the French. As a result, even if trust in the English people was quite blunt in the minds of the Allies because of the ambiguous behavior of the latter, they felt unable to find a better solution, so they all the same prayed the Plenipotentiaries of England to intervene with the French diplomats in order to calm them down without the King of France being informed for fear of further reprisals on his part: "The intervention of the Plenipotentiaries of England was not refused, but those of France, without promising anything on the case, persisted in asking satisfaction, and rejected the excuse that the colleagues of Rechteren claimed in his favor. They pretended to excuse him on the ground that he was *drunk*, when he had spoken and acted with such violence and brutality. It must be agreed that in any other conjuncture a quarrel of valets would not have deserved the serious attention of the Plenipotentiaries, even less that of the King, and that could have been granted to Rechteren the grace to believe him drunk, as his colleagues requested. But, then, it was necessary not only to lower the insolence of the Dutch, but still to suspend the Utrecht Conferences, until all things were fully schemed with the Queen of Great Britain. The

143 Segment not highlighted in the original text.

King of France therefore wanted to condescend to the representations of Mesnager, and believe that *Rechteren had searched a pretext for complaint and quarrel, flattered by the hope that the brilliance which he would do, commit His Majesty to break the Conferences*[144].

This was the wishes of the Grand-Pensionnaire**[46]**[145], of his supporters, and of the Ministers of the House of Austria. Rechteren was one of them. By gratitude and by interest, the Emperor had made him Earl, and this slight grace was united with the more solid interest of keeping for his brothers the lucrative posts they had in the Army. Peace would deprive them of it. He, therefore, never ceased to divert the Province[146] in which he was a Member of Parliament. This is what Mesnager pointed out.

Without going into the solidity of these reflections, it was advisable to delay the Conferences, and this dispute (of Rechteren) was a plausible reason for it, until the King of France had obtained a suitable reparation for the offense done to his Plenipotentiary. Her Majesty ordered to tell the

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144 *Antoine Hensius*, (1641-1721), *Grand Pensionnaire* from 1689, supported the policy of William of Orange. Before the fall of the Duke of Marlborough, the Allied Army was officially commanded by the triumvirate of the Duke of Marlborough, who established himself as the principal leader, Prince Eugene de Savoie-Carignan, who commanded the Austrian and Holy Roman Empire Army, and Hensius, the Grand-Pensionnaire of Holland, military leader of the United Provinces. The Republic of the United Provinces was an oligarchy organized at its origins around a balance between civil power (held by a Pensionnaire, the president of the States of the provinces, *raadpensionaris* in Dutch) and military power (held by a Stathouder, the executive officer in his capacity as captain general or commander-in-chief): Pensioner and Stathouder were appointed by the States. The pensioner of Holland, the richest province, played in a way the role of president of the whole republic of the United Provinces.

145 Each of the autonomous provinces that made up the United Provinces (of which Holland was a part), had a representative in Utrecht. Rechteren was one of these representatives. At the end of the negotiations, each province signed the Peace individually. The States-General were in a way the federal Government of this group of United Provinces.

146 Segment not highlighted in the original text. It is nevertheless deplorable that this arrogance on the part of Rechteren had as a consequence to force his country, the United Provinces, to give up the city of Lille which had been won with pain and misery by the blood of their soldiers.

English, to whom alone they were to reply, that it was her desire that the Estates-General had to declare whether Rechteren had followed their orders by authorizing the violence of his servants, and then explain himself in the terms he had used, or whether he had only listened to his passion, excited by the Ministers of the House of Austria. If he had obeyed his Masters, it had to be concluded that any security for the French Plenipotentiaries was banned from the City of Utrecht. If he had only had as a motivation his particular interest, the States-General had to highly and publicly disavow the undignified process of a Minister who abused their trust.

The King of France prescribed the conditions of disavowal. The main one was to recall[147] Rechteren, and to appoint in his place another Member of Parliament. *The Dutch, who had become more docile, consented to the restitution of the City of Lille*[148]. The Plenipotentiaries of the King [of France] seemed little touched by this forced condescension[149] and mortified the Republic by their silence. The resolution this country [the Republic of the States General] had taken on this Article gave reason to believe that by insisting strongly on the restitution of Tournay, it could also be obtained. *The assistance of England was necessary because the Allies still had some confidence in this Nation, not knowing to what extent it had betrayed them*[150]; but far from finding help from English Ministers,

[147] That is to say, to sack him.

[148] Segment not highlighted in the original text. It is nevertheless deplorable that this arrogance on the part of Rechteren resulted in his country, the United Provinces, being forced to give up the city of Lille which had been won with pain and misery by the blood of their soldiers.

[149] Complacency would have been a better word than condescension whose meaning has slipped.

[150] Segment not highlighted in the original text

the opposition they brought to it equaled that of the States-General.

The submission of the Dutch changed in their favor the spirit of the Ministers of the Queen of England. Bollinbroke, being still in France, had said that if these enemies of Peace came to their senses, if they would implore the protection of the Queen of England, this change on their part would put an end to the animosity of the English Nation, as well as to her desire she showed to take revenge for their obstinacy.

[Bollinbroke had added] that immediately afterward the fulfilment of this essential condition[151], the Queen of Great Britain would declare to its Allies that she could not obtain another better plan than the one the King of France had proposed. [He added] that this would therefore be up to them to decide whether they would accept it; that they would have three months to deliberate but this term passed, the King [of France] would not be anymore required to grant the proposed conditions[152]"

Three Dutch MP who had come to dine at the home of the Marshal d'Huxelles in company of Abbé Melchior de Polignac had declared to the French Plenipotentiaries, on behalf of the States-Generals, that Rechteren had never received from his superiors the order to behave in such an undiplomatic way. The States-Generals of the United Provinces disapproved his behavior and were preparing to dismiss him. It thus appears by this Rechteren File, mentioned not only by Torcy but by Swift, *only a simple mood swing of the Dutch Plenipotentiary (this man had not been*

151 Obtaining waivers.

152 Torcy, Book III, Part.IV, pp.252-257.

able to control his very understanding irritation), led his country to a veritable put under trusteeship by England, which immediately took advantage of it to make them accept the French plan in order to calm the anger of Louis XIV. As a consequence, the region of Lille was returned to the French, and the Dutch were subjected and subjugated, as much as possible. The disillusionment and discouragement of the Dutch worsened. The Dutch enraged, therefore, especially when, during the second part of the eighteenth century, *the Memoirs of Torcy* were published in 1757, and that the Dutch realized that they had entrusted their defense and their cause to the English, whose one and only obsession had been *their own* interest.



Suspension of arms on all battlefields.

On the battlefields, a suspension of arms became urgent, because, paradoxically, during all these diplomatic delays, the soldiers of all nations continued to slaughter each other without any enthusiasm but with a courage as undeniable as useless. They gave, literally for nothing, their poor life, so precious for them. But isn't this a constant in all wars?

To allay the fear of the Dutch, who were most opposed to a ceasefire without guarantees, Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, *Keeper of the Small Seal* and Earl of Stafford, one of the English plenipotentiaries, expressed the opinion that the French should offer several strongholds of Flanders as hostages to reassure the Dutch in case of armistice. But the French rejected this solution, of which they would pay the price, because the Allies were clearly at risk of refusing to return these same fortresses to them if the suspension of hostilities failed.

The English showed themselves always ready to find a solution, but on the condition that it did not cost them any personal contribution.

In his dispatch of May 25, 1712, the King of France wrote: "It would be pernicious... to offer the Dutch fortresses as hostages. Time is no longer to flatter their pride and henceforth it is necessary, to dealing with them of good faith, with the dignity that suits me[153]..." Louis XIV had regained some confidence in the face of the turn taken

[153] Torcy, Book Three, Part.IV, p.196.

by this war, and his anger towards the Dutch went inexorably back like oil on the surface of water. The French King knew that the English, –the major investors in this *war industry*– were now entirely subjugated and loyal to the French, thanks to the enormous Bribe they had been offered. Nor was the Roi Soleil unaware that the Dutch and the penniless Austrians could ever run the battlefields for long without English gold to pay for their German troops and especially their mercenaries.

Without English gold, the Allies would have to use their national troops of rather average quality, because the good Prussian mercenary troops, *cannon fodder* of each and every Allied Nation, would no longer be available to face the French so addicted to victory. Consequently, their fate would be quickly settled. The military campaigns that followed fully confirmed this *fear* or *hope*, depending on the point of view chosen.

Besides Prussian mercenaries, the English used Palatins[154] and Hanoverians, as well as catholic highlanders from Scottish clans[155], or Irish Catholics, all tough fighters and reckless troopers, both for *shock and wear*, thanks to the ruthless discipline, imposed by the English general officers, who turned them into killing machines, on pain of death or torture[156] (the proper English regiments

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154 That is to say, the German state of the Palatinate, of course. The Palatinate of the Rhine, Palatinate electoral or Count Palatinate of the Rhine (in German: Kurpfalz) is a historical state of the Holy Roman Empire. Today it is part of the federal states of Baden-Württemberg and Rhineland-Palatinate.

155 That the London Government would soon destroy at Culloden (at least the Catholic clans) and during the Highland Clearances.

156 Discipline and, therefore, the courage of the troops were stimulated by extremely cruel corporal punishment and even by death. In a way, it was necessary to make the soldier more afraid of the punishment than of the enemy. Among the most effective troops of the Second World War (the SS), the rate of execution for indiscipline seems to have been enormous. Christian Ingrao, in Les chasseurs noirs, la brigade Dirlewanger, gives the figure of 3%o of the total strength per month for the

were rare and of poor quality, due to inadequate recruiting). But these last battalions (Irish and Scottish) were going to also disappear from the fighting by the withdrawal of London from the battlefields.



Finally, at the beginning of June, the courier arrived from Madrid. The King of Spain had agreed. But, instead of the suspension of arms hoped, the French received a new *Secret Memorandum* from the Queen of England, most likely written under the dictation of the *London Merchant Lobbies*. It contained *seven articles*, which highlighted the fears that haunted the restless and ever tormented minds English financiers.

The first "anguishes" concerned the cessions to England of territories in North America, offered by France as part of the general French Royal Bribe. The English wanted to make sure it wouldn't be a mere mirage.

The last two clauses of the Memorandum concerned the Treaty of Trade between France and England. The letter proposed to make Peace first and then entrust the continuation of the negotiation to *more specialized Commissioners*, i.e. to themselves, the merchants, without political intermediaries.

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death rate by disciplinary punishment, i.e. 20 shootings per month. Les chasseurs noirs, Perrin, 2006, p. 97.

The following Article suggested: "that it would not be granted, on the part of France and that of England, *no prerogative or privilege to any other Nation*, which was also communicated on both sides to the French and to the English[157]." In short, the English wanted to avoid doing to them what they themselves had inflicted on their Allies: *being overtaken by secret negotiations between one of their Allies and the French.* Because, to discredit the French in the eyes of the English, the Dutch, who suspected secret Franco-English relations, had presumably started the rumor that they themselves were negotiating secretly with the French: "We had warned the English whom the Dutch Ministers had frequent conferences with those of France and that they had offered to settle their interests with this Crown, *without the participation of England*[158]. This Dutch ruse favored the French. The danger seemed to threaten the privileged position of England. As a result, the *Secret Memorandum* ended with Queen Anne's immediate acquiescence to a *Franco-English arms Suspension* for two months and under two conditions. In fact, the first condition, totally useless, was presented only to furnish and not to leave too much orphan and lonely the second condition which concerned only the exclusive interest of the English. The first, therefore, required that during these two months, the separation of the two Monarchies (French and Spanish) would be entirely and punctually executed. No comment!

The second condition wished "that the King of France[159] would withdraw the garrison from Dunkirk, and that the English Troops would enter this city on the day

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[157] Torcy, Book Three, Part.IV, p.198.

[158] Swift, Book Four, p. 392. The segment was not highlighted in the original text.

[159] Louis XIV.

that the *arms-suspension* took place; and they would remain inside until the States-General consented to pay the King of France an equivalent *to his satisfaction* for the demolition of the works that His Majesty would be obliged to raze, as well as to fill in the port and destroy the locks[160]".

The King of France signed without difficulty the clauses on the surrender of some French colonies in North America and on the Treaty of Commerce. These were subjects that did not concern him much when he compared to the Spanish Monarchy or to its vanity of *Roi Soleil*. North America was so far away, so abstract in its head wigged and ribboned! As for Commerce, it felt for this trivial activity only a sovereign contempt of aristocrat[161]. Just to convince oneself, it is enough to read through the Memorandum he sent to its diplomats, advising them to beware**[63]**[162] of the words of the Merchants who always

160 Torcy, Book Three, Part.IV pp.198-199

161 It has already been said that a Nobleman who engages in trade on French soil automatically loses his Nobleman status.

162 The mistrust of the Aristocracy in general but also of the whole Catholic society towards the trade was astonishing. This is what prompted the French-Canadian Pierre-Esprit Radisson to abandon France and go to work for England, where he founded the Hudson's Bay Company, which made England's fortune. With the exception of those of the Second French Empire, the politicians of the various [French] governments have always shown an immense distrust, not to say contempt, for the merchant class, which has never ceased to be the essential factor in the prosperity of France. This text shows the eternal distrust of the French monarchy towards the merchants: "The intention of the King [Louis XIV] is that the Sieur de Bonnac [French ambassador to Spain] should maintain the prerogatives of His Majesty's subjects and that he should make them enjoy those granted to them by the treaties. But, before committing himself to support the demands of the merchants, he must carefully examine what the basis for them will be. *The merchants are usually very inclined to complain, and, when they are believed, they attribute to ill will against the whole Nation what they suffer in particular. Sometimes they even represent as a crying injustice the punishments they have deserved, and which should rather be considered as the effect of the accuracy of the people in charge of watching over and preventing fraud*. His Majesty is persuaded that Sieur de Bonnac will know how to reveal the truth, distinguish between what is truly in his service and in the interest of the traders, protect those whose complaints are just and not commit himself at the wrong moment to supporting the ill-founded claims of others. Segment not highlighted in the original text. This text is taken from Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France depuis les Traités de Westphalie jusqu'a la Révolution française, Volume XII, Espagne, with an introduction and notes by A. Morel-Fatio and H. Leonardon, Commission des Archives Diplomatiques au Ministère des

tend to forget that the interest of the country is not necessarily their own. For the rest, Louis XIV deemed it necessary to demand a ceasefire of at least four months. As for allowing the English to occupy Dunkirk immediately, Louis XIV feared that they would no longer want to evacuate the city, if hostilities were resumed, and that, ultimately, the French would be forced to expel them *manu militari*. But the cunning of the English towards their own Allies was matched only by the loyalty of the same towards their former enemies, the French, for they knew that the latter could at any moment change their mind about the *Royal Backhander*[163] which they had to hand over to them. The King of France felt with relevance that he could trust them.

However, as the English were anxious, everything showed that they did not have an absolute confidence in Louis XIV (about the Dunkirk's garrison), the latter played the outraged as Queen Anne did vis-à-vis the Dutch and the Austrians, and replied to her with humor "that good faith and mutual confidence having begun and conducted the negotiation, it was appropriate to banish even the appearance of defiance, when on both sides we were approaching the goal we had proposed.

The French King left it to the judgment of the Queen of England to decide whether it was not a disobliging request, to put an English garrison in Dunkirk during the suspension of arms... She had given so much evidence of her feelings, that there was no reason to suspect that she had such a thought. Also, the King, basing himself on her

Affaires Étrangères, Ancienne Librairie Germer Baillière et C"\ Felix Alcan, Éditeur, Paris, 1898; Tome deuxième (1701-1722), pages 206.

163 Royal Bribe.

friendship, notwithstanding the continuation of the war, persuaded himself that she would not insist on a request not only useless, but capable perhaps of producing an effect contrary to her own intentions. Because she had only in view to oblige the Dutch to give an equivalent for the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk, and it was neither to press nor to threaten, in order to overcome their obstinacy, to declare to them that the English troops would keep Dunkirk until the States-General had paid for the demolition of the port, to the satisfaction of the King of France.

On the contrary, it was to encourage them to form new obstacles to Peace, at a time when it was a question of finding means of making them more docile[164]. »Very much a psychologist before his time, in spite of his 74 winters[165], the King of France insisted on the fact that the confidence between the French and the English had to be reciprocal and that for his part, given the complete confidence that he felt with regard to Queen Anne, he left her the choice to immediately occupy Dunkirk, *if she did not have complete confidence in him,* or to be patient, otherwise. Thus, despite the harassment of the London Merchant Lobbies, the Queen of England could not take advantage of the freedom given to her by Louis XIV to occupy the city under penalty of ostensibly questioning the honesty and word of the King of France.

In his reply, Louis XIV also insisted on the restitution of the fortress of Tournay which he demanded in return for the destruction not only of the port facilities of Dunkirk but also of its ingenious system of locks. He

164 Torcy, Book Three Part IV, pp.200-201.

165 He was just three years before his death.

pointed out that this destruction would cause the ruin of the region and that everyone will suffer. Again psychologist, after having demonstrated the absurdity of such destruction, the King of France "left to the Queen to reconsider it[166]."

As for the introduction of a Dutch garrison in the French fortress of Cambrai to remain there during the ceasefire period, as proposed by the Queen of England, the King of France declared that he would oppose it with such force that he was prepared to refuse to suspend the fighting, the Negotiation of Peace, and to continue the war, because this clause was contrary to his honor and the good of his Kingdom. The Queen did not insist.

In the same note, the King of France added that he "could not believe that this enterprise[167] had the approval of the Queen of England and that she allowed her troops to serve in a siege whose event could produce even new commitments that the prudent Saint John[168] judged to prevent . "

The King of France then insisted on agreeing with England of a *total* suspension of arms which would take effect *on sea, too*, so that the Allied Army of the Iberian

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166 Torcy, Book Three, Part.IV, p.201.

167 Louis XIV is referring to the siege of the fortress of Le Quesnoy which had just begun on June 8 and would last until July 4, 1712. Torcy, Tome III.Part.IV page 202. During the siege of Le Quesnoy, the English were strongly suspected of treason by the Dutch. According to some insidious rumors, the English wanted to provoke a line of battle and then desert so that Prince Eugene would be defeated by numerical inferiority thanks to the withdrawal of the mercenaries in their pay. According to others, secret talks had already taken place between France and England, so that the latter would abandon the Allied camp in the middle of the war. Eugene decided to content himself with the siege of Le Quesnoy, after having tested the new English commander-in-chief [the Duke of Ormond] by proposing a battle against the French and having seen the latter derobate

168 St.John, the English negotiator.

Peninsula[169] would be deprived of reinforcements in combatant personnel, as well as in munitions and food. England also agreed. He was then question of granting the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II[170] (so as to seduce him too), the Kingdom of Sicily[171], and "to make him understand that he had nothing to fear from the insults of the Imperials, as long as he was protected by France and England[172]."»

Subsequently, at the end of the war, after the death of Queen Anne, their enemy, and during the reign of George Ist, Duke of Hanover, the Whigs wanted to suggest that the offer of the Kingdom of Sicily in favor of the Duke of Savoy had been made without the knowledge of this prince, and that he "appeared very much agitated when the Earl of Peterborough first heard of it[173]." He then claimed that he had nothing to do with it, "that he was not greedy enough for a vain title of King, to sacrifice his real interests to the misplaced ambition to obtain this new Dignity," and he added with regret that "besides, nothing seemed to him more extraordinary than to leave to a Prince, defeated by his enemies, the prize so long disputed[174]: a prize that the Parliament of England had so often recognized, and declared to be the just and main motive of the war[175]." The

169 Not only Portugal but also Catalonia.

170 The relationship between Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan and the Duke of Savoy Victor-Amedee II came from their common ancestor, Charles-Emmanuel I of Savoy called The Great (1562-1630), who was the Duke of Savoy. Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan (1663-1736) was his great-grandson; while the Duke of Savoy, who joined the Grand Alliance against France during the War of the Spanish Succession, was Victor-Amedee II, (1666-1732), great-great-grandson of Charles-Emmanuel Ist.

171 Sicily would therefore be detached from the Spanish Empire.

172 Torcy, Book Three, Part.IV, p.228.

173 Torcy, Book Three, Part. IV, p.229

174 It is, of course, about the Spanish throne left to a prince of the House of Bourbon.

175 Torcy, Book III, Part. VI, p.229.

King of France had until then made the project to give the Kingdom of Sicily to the Elector of Bavaria[176] for his unwavering loyalty to France. It was only a compensation that Louis XIV, faithful to the end, absolutely wanted to grant him. Indeed, the Elector of Bavaria and his brother the Elector of Cologne had lost their thrones as a price of their loyalty to France, and to the King of France –much more faithful in his friendships than in his loves– made it a privileged point of his negotiations.

As for the objectives to be achieved by the force of arms, the Allies, after the defection of England, still wished to continue the fight against France, with unchanged objectives: the Holy Roman Empire demanded that the Crown of Spain remain within the House of Austria, and Holland was anxious to strengthen and guarantee its own security by establishing a mighty Barrier of fortresses between its own national territory and France always threatening, which tended to look upon its neighbors as prey that would pay the price of the next banquet. Of course, the ultimate and ideal goal would have been for all countries of Europe to recover all the bordering provinces that the French had appropriated during the seventeenth century. It didn't cost anything to dream a little and, as the singers of the *Compagnie Créole* sings so well today: "It's *good for the morale!*"



[176] It was all the more deserving since Bavaria was an integral part of the Holy Roman Empire which was united against France.

In spite of the nagging suspicions of the Allies, who persistently wondered whether a secret Peace Treaty had not been signed between France and England, in violation of the Coalition Treaty of the Grande Alliance initialed in 1701 at The Hague, nothing was yet clearly and irrefutably established in the minds of all, nor will it be until the publication of the *Memoirs of Torcy* in the second part of this eighteenth Century; as we have already mentioned. Viscount Bolingbroke for his part would have preferred that France and England sign Peace once and for all, rather than a simple armistice. It was, according to him, the best way to force into Peace the Kings of Portugal and Prussia, the Duke of Savoy, and the Dutch.

As for the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire whose Emperor (the Archduke of Austria) *personally owned* the hereditary states grouped around Austria, he himself would have been, in such conditions, involuntarily precipitated into Peace like a rock swept away by an irresistible landslide. But to sign the Peace directly with the French would have been to violate the famous Treaty of the Hague (1701) which forbade precisely a separate peace with the French, and Earl Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Grand-Treasurer of England, feared for his person the reprisals of the *Duke of Hanover* when the latter was going to become King of England, as provided for by the *Act of Succession* voted by the Parliament of London. What is the point of accumulating in our life an immense wealth and honorary titles as long as a volumen papyrus, to finally find oneself dragged through the mud, tortured and hanged like a simple thug in our old days?

I have already pointed out —probably too much emphatically— how it was enough to see the Queen's sixteen

children die one after the other, at birth, to not suspect that the Queen herself would eventually fall under the knife, or rather in this case, under the narcotics of the henchmen of the Elector of Hanover, the very one who was going to profit from the crime, if there was one. There is no doubt that the Tory politicians had not failed to note that their prestigious name might appear sooner or later in the long list of victims of British succession. If European wars of succession were usually resolved on the battlefields, this War of the English Succession was being fought into the anterooms of St. James's Palace in London and the Electoral Palace of Hanover.

It was obvious that the revolution was brewing in England with the pro-war Whig party as a ferment warmonger, and this political war will smolder until Queen Anne's last breath. As Jonathan Swift mentioned in the following quote, the rumors of an uprising continued until the very end of the final negotiations: "The Duke of Ormond received, the first month he was at Ghent, a letter from the French Marshal de Villars who told him that several Dutch generals captured at Denain, had spoken to him publicly of a revolution which was to arrive shortly in England, that the Comte d'Albermarle and M. Hompesch spoke openly about it, and that there was nothing more talked about in Holland. A thud was even rumored in Ghent that the Queen was dead, and we all remember that the people was as alarmed as if the Queen had been in a desperate situation[177]".

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177 Swift, Book Four, p. 379 ff. The author relates the final moment when, faced with rumors of aggression against the Duke of Ormond and the English soldiers themselves by Allied soldiers, the English Army, which had deserted the battlefields, locked itself up in a few strongholds in Flanders.

Finally, in desperation, the Dutch plenipotentiaries, who saw every day with fear how much the King of France felt resentment towards them[178], agreed to swallow their pride and humbly come to ask the English to be their intercessors with the French so that the latter would deign to come and negotiate with them at Utrecht. Louis XIV immediately took advantage of this to demand the restitution of Lille as a preliminary, in compensation for the demolition of the port of Dunkirk which the French had offered to England. Fortunately, the Dutch didn't quite realize they were paying back (to the French) with their own blood shed to seize this fortress, the bakchich offered by the French to the English. As for the Dutch demands, the King of France declared that Tournay, Condé and Maubeuge were three fortified cities that he excluded in advance from those which the Dutch claimed to have a vital need to lock their Barrier against France, fortresses they had demanded in vain in 1709, during the famous Negotiations of The Hague.

The French now in a strong position after having corrupted the English, demanded the return of all fortresses taken from them (from the French) since 1709. "The Ministers of the Allies, then in The Hague, rushed to Utrecht, as soon as they knew that those of Hollande had taken the humiliating step to have recourse to the intercession of the Ministers of England to renew the Conference[179]." The Austrian Count von Sinzendorff, discouraged, urged them to wait until the next battle that the Allied Armies promised to deliver to the French, battle that he foresaw, of course, victorious. Undoubtedly, according to him, a hypothetical victory would bring Louis XIV and his twenty

[178] This would not fail to disadvantage them in their negotiations with France.

[179] Swift, Book Three, p.243.•

or twenty-two million French people, to their knees, and this persistent fantasy continued to galvanize all energies and hatred, and to keep burning in their frustrated hearts the little hope of revenge.

It was, therefore, necessary, the Austrian Count von Sinzendorff advised, to suspend the Peace Conferences again, even though they themselves had wished the reopening. The Dutch who had been hesitating between the British and the Austrians, leaned again towards the latter and agreed once more to put a temporary halt to the talks until the final victory or... the ultimate deception. So, faced with this new procrastination, the English, disappointed, who did not want to jeopardize their advantages, decided to act alone, hoping that their action would force the hand of their Allies. The English Plenipotentiary Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, went to Paris at the end of August, where he was hosted by the Marquise de Croissy, mother of Torcy, French Secretary for Foreign Affairs and International Negotiations. Torcy decided to go there immediately to meet the English Plenipotentiary. *Peak of humiliation for the scowling Allies who, all together in Holland, sulked with clenched fists the bilateral negotiations which were actively pursuing in Paris without them*. It was agreed:

- That the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II, and his descendants would provide a substitute to the Spanish Monarchy in case of default on the part of King Philip V de Bourbon and his descendants, that this decision would be inserted in his Deed of Renunciation.

- That the same substitution would be inserted in the Acts of Renunciation of the Dukes of Berry and Orléans.

- That these Waivers (Renunciations) would be registered in all provincial Parliaments of the Kingdom.

- That the Renunciations of the Dukes of Berry and Orléans would be admitted by the Cortes of Castile and Aragon.

- That, concerning the cession of Sicily, it was necessary to avoid a premature declaration which could lead to an insurrection of the unstable populations of these regions in favor of the House of Austria, under the inspiration and the intrigues of the agitators of the Holy Roman Empire. The King of Spain would therefore sign a *secret article* containing the promise to cede Sicily to the Duke of Savoy and that the latter could no longer exchange or alienate this island.

Warned by the *French Secret Service*, the Elector of Bavaria came to Paris to defend his own interests. He hoped to receive the Kingdom of Sicily in compensation for its native Bavaria from where he had fled at the beginning of war. Indeed, the Duke of Marlborough had appeared with his troops in order to burn the villages, the farms and the crops of the Bavarian peasants to take revenge on their lord and master Maximilian-Emmanuel de Wittelsbach. A further proof that, *when the princes fight, it's the peasants who suffer the violence*.

The Elector Wittelsbach had to admit that Peace was becoming impossible if Sicily, so coveted, was not granted to Victor- Amadeus of Savoy. But all those greedy and selfish princes who shared a good part of the world, like jackals on a piece of ox, only discerned their personal interest and cared for the good of the nations as if it were their old coat. Disappointed and frustrated, Maximilian Emmanuel de Wittelsbach, Elector of Bavaria, had to satisfy himself by hoping that Sardinia would be allotted to him as compensation.

If the mistrust of the Dutch and Austrians towards the English was great, as if by a phenomenon of retribution very feminine, the distrust of the latter towards the Dutch became deep and tenacious too. As a result, some strongholds claimed by the Dutch as a strategic *Barrier* were deemed irritating to England itself, because they denoted a certain distrust felt by the Dutch regarding a possible and hypothetical English invasion of their country: "With regard to Great Britain, the Plenipotentiaries were to demand that Nieuwpoort, Dendermonde, Ghent, and all the places that "seem to serve rather as a strategic *Barrier against England* than against France, should not be ceded to the Dutch, or, that, if it were done, it should be in such a way that the Queen's subjects should not be prevented from going to and from the Netherlands. That the seventh Article of the *Treaty of Barriers*, which allows the States-Generals in the event of an attack, to put troops at discretion in all the strongholds of the Netherlands*, would take place only in the event of an attack by France.* That the English who

would do business in the Netherlands, would enjoy the same privileges as the States-Generals"**[180]**.

The English undoubtedly felt guilty vis-à-vis the other Allies, since they feared that the Dutch could reciprocate afterward by imposing retaliatory taxes**[181]** on the part of their business that would cross their strategic Barrier towards the Holy Roman Empire as a whole. They, therefore, preferred that only the cities of the Spanish Netherlands, essential to the security of the United Provinces *against France,* be left under the control of the United Provinces. The other strongholds should remain, according to them, either between the hands of the French, or between those of Spain"**[182]**.

It will be noticed later that, during the great abandonment [or desertion] of the battlefields by the British Army, English soldiers will occupy several cities including Ghent and Bruges, and that the Duke of Ormond will even elaborate the strategic plan to turn –if necessary– against their own Allies to force them to accept the French proposals; what proves that the Allies' fears against the English were not totally unfounded.

In the Treaty draft, negotiators even had in mind the Huguenots, –so cruelly persecuted in France by Louis XIV

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[180] Swift, Book Four, pp.288-289. It should be remembered that the *Spanish or Catholic Netherlands* (which became *Austrian* at the end of this war) corresponded geographically to present-day *Belgium*, and that the, and the *States* (or *States-General* or *United Provinces*) the present (Protestant) *Holland* or *Netherlands.*

[181] In retaliation for the English having made a separate peace with the enemy, for according to Article 8 of the Treaty of Constitution of the Grand Alliance signed in 1701, each member state undertook not to make a separate peace with the French.

[182] Swift, Book Two, pp. 159-160. In reality, the Spanish Netherlands (i.e., the actual Belgium) was to be awarded to Austria as compensation for the loss of the Spanish Crown and would henceforth be called the Austrian Netherlands.

as were the Catholics in England by the Test Act[183] called *Oath Test* in Canada. It was also foreseen that "the Plenipotentiaries would consult with those of the Protestant Allies, on the means that should be used to restore the Protestants of France in their religion and their freedom, and to free those who were currently in the Galleys[184]. If, by the *Test Act*, English Catholics were stripped of most of their fundamental civil rights except that of giving their unfortunate life for their King or Queen, the recalcitrant French Huguenots were sent outright to the galleys; what was not more satisfactory. The two countries were equal in intolerance and fanatism; No matter what François Arouet says!

Eventually, the King of France renounced the fortress of Tournay, which was an important place in the defense system of the United Provinces. Louis XIV, ill-disposed against the Dutch who had roughed up his

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183 The *Test Act* was not abolished in English territory until 1829, only four years before the abolition of slavery in all British territories [1833]. Here is the text of the Test Act, as it was applied here in Canada, at the beginning of the English occupation: "I, Paul Tremblay, do profess, testify and declare, solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God, that I believe that in the sacrament of the Holy Communion of our Lord Jesus Christ, there is no transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ at the moment of or after their consecration by any person; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary and of any other saint, the sacrifice of the mass, as is now practiced in the Roman Church, is superstition and idolatry. And I profess, testify, and declare, that I make this declaration and every part of it, in the natural and ordinary sense of the words which have been read to me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any prevarication, equivocal interpretation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any person, or authority whatsoever, and without thinking that I am, or that I may be, before God or men, deemed free from the obligation of this declaration, or that I may be absolved from it, or any part of it, though the Pope, or any other person, or persons, or power whatsoever, dispense with it, or annul it, or declare it to have been void and of no validity from its beginning. "The candidate had to renounce his Catholic religion, otherwise he could not hold any position in the Administration. In 1867 and 1871, after 30 years of reign, Queen Victoria abolished many of the anti-Catholic regulations, and on August 3, 1910, finally, the last anti-Catholic laws disappeared from Great Britain. But even though the laws no longer existed, the perverse custom of revealing the applicant's religion on English university application forms led to systematic refusals of applications until 1955, when such questions were finally banned. In Canada, it was abolished at the beginning of the American Revolution for fear that the French-speaking majority would side with the Americans. Swift, Book Four, p. 291.

184 Swift, Livre Quatrieme, p. 291. Let us recall that it was the same Louis XIV who had revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which had reintroduced the persecutions against the French of Protestant faith. It was not until the French Revolution of 1789 that Protestantism was fully recognized.

Plenipotentiary (in the *Rechteren Affair* already exposed above), ended up giving up Tournay but on the condition that the Dutch gave up everything else, and these people were left with the Tariff**[185]** of 1664, with the exception of the *four species***[186]**. England and the States-General were also obliged to accept the idea of compensating the Elector of Bavaria not only with Sardinia but also with the sovereignty on the Provinces of Luxembourg and Namur, of which he was already in possession, and that of Limburg and Hainaut. It was understood that the claims of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy would no longer stand in the way of Peace; than the House of Austria in particular and the Holy Roman Empire in general, with regard to the Rhine strategic Barrier**[187]**, would no longer be supported by England or Holland.

The Englishman Matthew Prior" **[188]**. brought the French conditions back to England. He came back in December 1712. The Queen had agreed to sign the first clause even if his Allies refused to initial it. With regard to the Duke of Bavaria, Anne agreed to compensate him for the loss of Bavaria and his rank of Elector through the acquisition of a territory (provided by the Austrians) and even of a royal dignity. She also agreed that the mentioned fortresses which were part of the strategic *Barrier*, would go to the former Elector of Bavaria who became a local ruler, but with Dutch garrisons, which seems singular and even

[185] Tarif=droit de douane. Le Tarif de 1664 est a la Bibliothèque Mazarine, cote Ms 2776.

[186] The four species were: 1. whale and whale products; 2. cloths, serges and terry cloths; 3. fresh and bulk fish; 4. refined sugar and similar products.

[187] The Germans also maintained a line of fortresses, called the Rhine Barrier, the predecessor of the Siegfried or Hindenburg Line, which protected them against a French aggression that was always possible, if not probable.

[188] Matthew Prior (1664-1721) was a great English poet before he was a diplomat. A former classmate of John Montagu I, Earl of Halifax, it was through this friendship that he became a diplomat during the War of the Spanish Succession.

irrational to us who live in the XXI Century, but that was then considered judicious.



Guidelines to Ambassadors of England:
vade-mecum to respond to Allies' criticism.

To respond judiciously to suspicious and even derogatory criticism of its Allies, the English Government distributed to its Ambassadors, Chargés de missions and Envoys of all kinds, a set of diplomatic notes that tried to plan and foresee all plausible responses, as "soft" as possible, to the objections and attacks from its Allies. Concerned with her own and her country's respectability, the Queen of England was anxious to justify in honorable terms the visible and public part of her behavior that most of the Allies, including the English Whigs, called dishonorable. It was a diplomatic *vade-mecum*, a kind of old-fashioned catechism presented in the form of embarrassing questions followed by reasonable answers in French. All chargés-de-missions could learn it by heart, if necessary, in order to get out of a thorny situation with grace and agility.

In the event that the Dutch Ministers expressed some concern, English Ministers in general and Lord Raby Earl of Strafford, ambassador from England to The Hague in particular, were to serve them all these seemingly well though-out and carefully weighed answers. If one of the Allies accused the British of having negotiated separately with the French, thereby violating *Article VIII* of the Treaty of Coalition of the Grande Alliance of 1701 between the Allies, the Chargé-de-mission had to reply in the same breath that "the Queen had hitherto refused to allow

the Treaty to be continued in her own Kingdom[1] and that she would persist in this refusal, unless they[2] forced her to take other measures; that by this means, the States-General and the other Allies would have an opportunity to treat and settle their respective claims, that Her Majesty would support them with all the zeal she had shown for the common cause and in particular for the advantage of the Republic[3], as they were obliged to agree, throughout the course of her reign. That the Queen had not stipulated anything for herself that could harm the interests of Holland and that the articles that were to be inserted in the Treaty to come in relation to Great Britain, contained *only* benefits to be obtained by Her Majesty, unless that it was not intended that the enemy should continue to enjoy it. Notwithstanding this, no concession would tempt her to listen to Peace, unless her good friends and Allies, the States-General, obtained a reasonable satisfaction with regard to their trade and their Barrier, as well as in all other respects." We note that England did not wish that the States-General obtain a satisfaction "*equal*" to its own but simply "*reasonable*".

If the importunate, ignoring this gibberish incomprehensible even to a French speaker, persisted in showering the representative of Her Majesty with undeserved reproaches, the vade-mecum would draw its sharp arrows directly from the pathos of the Athenian rhetoric elaborated by Demosthenes. This illustrious speaker looked misguided in the eye and used the usual argument that forbade him to formulate any criticism, thus avoiding developing a real argument that could be turned around against

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[1] Swift, p. 133. The sentence is obscure, like the usual diplomatic tone. It is easier to understand if the word Treaty is replaced by negotiations concerning the Peace Treaties.

[2] They = The Dutch.

[3] The Republic of the United Provinces (Holland) because that was their form of Government.

him. It was, in short, the traditional threat: "You unjustly suspect me of dishonesty. Therefore, I will behave dishonestly to punish you." The diplomat was to imply with an air of unfair frustration "that Her Majesty would have reason to be offended[4] and to regard it as a bad precedent on the part of the States Generals, if they still affected any anxiety in her regard; that being determined to accept for herself no advantage which was opposed to their interests, nor any peace without being reasonably satisfied, she believed that the part she had played during the whole course of this war, much more considerable than that of any of her Allies most interested in the war, gave her the right to settle the affairs of Great Britain, before consenting to a general negotiation."

It was of a consummate cunning! In the event that the States-General would object to commitments that Queen Anne had taken through the treaties, in particular with regard to the *Treaty of the Barrier*, the ambassador was ordered to answer "that Her Majesty had in no way acted in a manner contrary to her first commitments, that she was so far from making peace without their consent, that she declared her firm resolution to conclude anything before they have been satisfied; that what would have happened between France and Elle, was limited to bringing things to a general Treaty." As for the *Treaty of Barrier*, the chargé-de-mission had order to seriously highlight how much it was Holland's interest in negotiating *every element* of it "rather than to insist on *totality*, something to

[4] This argument consisted in the Queen's declaring that everything she was accused of was unjust and hurt her deeply, for, despite appearances, she had never had the idea of betraying her Allies; on the contrary, she did everything to obtain for them advantages similar to her own. This English defense forbade any criticism of the Allies and allowed them to continue their policy.

which, neither the House of Austria, nor would many other of the Allies ever consent[5]." One must know how to be satisfied with little.

The British chargés-de-mission also had to point out that "Nothing could be more odious to the English people than many Articles of this Treaty [of Barrier], which aroused a general indignation[6], if one had not taken great precautions to calm the minds of those who were instructed in the conditions of this guarantee and to hide them from those who ignored them [It was also necessary to put in evidence] that it was very important to maintain a good harmony between the two Nations[7] without which it would always be impossible to gather sufficient forces to reduce an exorbitant Power and to preserve the balance of Europe. Consequently, it was not in the interest of the two States to insist on conditions which might give rise to mutual apprehensions. [It was also necessary to answer] that France had proposed Utrecht, Nijmegen, Aix-la-Chapelle or Liège to hold the Conferences for the General Treaty, and that Her Majesty was ready to send her Plenipotentiaries to the City which the countries would like to choose[8]."

After demonstrating to the Dutch that they had it all wrong to complain since England was generous enough to offer them a choice (and what a choice!) of venue for the

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[5] The Barrier was a line of defense intended to protect the United Provinces (i.e., present-day Holland) against France. It consisted of fortified towns located on the territory of what is now Belgium, which was then called the Spanish Netherlands (which would become the Austrian Netherlands after this war) since this region will be given to the Holy Roman Empire. The cities of the Barrier belonged to Spain, but the garrisons were Dutch. Of course, Holland would have liked to have all the cities of this region as the Barrier, but nobody wanted to leave all the fortress cities at their disposal, not even England, for various reasons that we have explained above.

[6] Allusion to the fear of the English that the Barrier could reveal some distrust of the Dutch towards the English, as reported above.

[7] Between England and Holland, the two nations supposedly allied, and called "maritime" in the terminology of the time.

[8] Swift, Book II, p.135.

Peace Conference. The ambassador taught them a stinging lesson by showing them that their habit of showing jealousy and frustration with their British Allies was causing the French to be even more resistant and intractable in their negotiations: "In case the Ministers of the Emperor, or of any other Power, claim that the Preliminaries were not sufficient to open the Conferences and insist that France consented to the articles which had been signed by the Allies in 1709, the Earl of Strafford[9] was ordered to make it clear that the French perhaps might have been led to explain themselves more clearly, if they had not noticed the anxiety, impatience and jealousy that prevailed among the Allies during our negotiations with this Court of France."

Despite this, the English Plenipotentiary had to declare to them in the name of Her Majesty "that if they were resolved to accept Peace at conditions which would in no way be inferior to those which had been proposed previously, Her Majesty would be prepared to compete with them, but was no longer willing to put up with the disproportionate expenditures that multiplied every year, nor the shortcomings of most Confederates. Thus it was up to them in the future to provide their contingent of ships and troops, although they had missed it so far, and to increase their expenditure, while Her Majesty would reduce hers in its fair proportion. [It should be emphasized that] "if the Ministers of Vienna and Holland rejected the impossibility to increase the expenditure, the Queen of England wanted them to be made aware "that in this case, *they had to conform to her views*[10] *in war as in Peace*, since Her Majesty

[9] Lord Raby Earl of Strafford, plenipotentiary ambassador of England at The Hague.

[10] Segment not highlighted in the original text.

did not require (from them) anything for the war except what was their duty to execute and that, as for the Peace, she had already done, and would continue to make every effort to obtain one (solution) which was to the satisfaction of all her Allies[11]."

Thus, the dialectic of the ambassadors had to make the dissident or jealous Allies feel guilty by blaming them for all the problems that had resulted in England's having to choose Peace. And it was necessary to end the long tirade of this demonstration by hammering the slogan that we developed on the previous page, an irrefutable argument according to which *all this unjust suspicion of the Allies with regard to England had encouraged the French to continue the fight with more obstinacy and aggressiveness.* As for the war effort, the nonchalance of the other Allies had led England to burn out. They have only themselves to blame! Clearly, all of this behavioral advices fell under what we now call, in psychiatry: *Narcissistic Perversion.*

In the pro-war English camp, the prestigious Marlborough fought to the end to influence, towards the continuation of hostilities, the policy of their previous Government and the London Merchant Lobbies as they wished before they changed their mind under the sweetness of the Royal-Bribe. But the Duke was no longer very popular in these environments heavily and irresistibly contaminated by the French bakchich. *How could such a corrupt man,* thought the English Pacifists*, have the arrogance to give lessons in honesty and respect to other Allies?* It must also

[11] Swift, Book II, pp.136 ff.

be recognized that this career soldier was not doing it with great virtuosity to influence the Queen of England, but in the opposite as a furious soldier, whom we would describe today as a *macho,* not feeling any respect for a woman, even a Queen of England.

"The last time the Duke [of Marlborough] returned from the Netherlands, he fixed, either by chance or purposely, on the day of his arrival in London on November 17th, that is called [in this country] *Queen Elizabeth's Day*[12], during which many of its creatures and administrators felt it appropriate to revive an ancient ceremony in use among the populace: the burning of the Pope in effigy. Very big preparations had been made to celebrate this ceremony with more apparatus. In view of the extraordinary expense that had been incurred for these preparations and people who interfered with them, the Court of Queen Anne, fearing that all that was intended to excite the people, thought it necessary to give orders to seize the various figures (which were to be burned in effigy), as things which stank of popery. Guards were sent to patrol, in order to prevent tumultuous assemblies... The Duke, by his nature, did not seek to make himself popular. In his more brilliant time, when he returned to England, at the end of a war campaign, he was rather careful to avoid the assistance of the people when the crowd seemed disposed to accompany him. Such opposite conduct, in this conjecture, made him suspect that he may have had intended to put

[12] Elizabeth Ist of England (1533-1603), daughter of King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, was the fifth and last representative of the Tudor dynasty. She was nicknamed "The Virgin Queen", "Gloriana" or "Good Queen Bess" by her supporters. She was as fanatically Anglican as Mary, the other daughter of Henry VIII, was fanatically Catholic.

himself at their head. France, Popery, the Pretender, Peace without Spain[13], were the slogans to be shouted during this ridiculous ceremony. Furthermore, if we believe certain reports, they were at the same time spreading the rumor of the Queen's death. In this case, it is impossible to say what the consequence would have been[14]. But whatever the intentions, the vigilance of the Ministry made this undertaking useless, and the arrival of the Duke caused no rumors[15]. Once again, his clumsy attempt at insurrection and *coup d'état* failed.

All of Europe –apart from the French, the pacifists English and the Spaniards who were the beneficiaries of this uproar– was relentless in trying to change English politics. Mr. Buys, Ambassador of the Dutch United Provinces, also came to London to try to unravel the mystery of those Franco-English secret backdoor negotiations. "His intention was to give himself the *appearance of negotiating*, in order to gain time and to try to discover all the mysteries of what was going on between France and England, well resolved not to let himself be penetrated, nor to do anything which could commit his masters[16]. Buys and Bothmar, respectively sent from Holland and Hanover[17] tried to influence Queen Anne. They proposed to "continue the war on a new footing, which was to be very advantageous for Great Britain... but these offers... were rejected with indignation, to the plurality of voices[18]."

[13] Swift, Book I, pp.70-72.
[14] Jonathan means "And one cannot predict what the consequence of this ceremony would have been if it had taken place."
[15] Swift, Book I, pp.70-72.
[16] Ibid., Book II, p.144.
[17] Bothmar also represented the Holy Roman Empire when the Count of Gallas fell into disgrace with Queen Anne.
[18] Swift Book One, p. 62. *Plurality* means *majority*.

They probably wanted to prove that the English would be bought by the highest bidder. But the excessiveness of these proposals spilled the beans. Faced with all these setbacks in trying to change the direction of English policy, the Allies decided to send their Big Bertha**[19]** to London.

On January 5th, Prince Eugène of Savoy arrived in England... "He was accompanied through the streets by a large populace to the St. James's Palace, where Mr. Secretary of State St. John presented him to the Queen. She received him with great politeness... The proposals of the Emperor's positions on Spain were communicated to the Chambers in the following terms: "Her Majesté Impériale**[20]** judges that forty thousand men will suffice for this service, and that all the expenditure of the war in Spain will be able to rise to four million ecus; for which sum His Imperial Majesty offers to increase the number of his troops in this country (Spain) to thirty thousand men, and to take upon himself the responsibility of providing a million ecus."

On the other hand, the House of Commons was of the opinion that only one-third of these four million should be granted, as being sufficient for the Queen's share in this service. For it was assumed that the Emperor was to bear most of the burden, in an affair in which he was so much concerned, or at least that Great Britain should furnish one third, and that the other two thirds should be provided by

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[19] The expression is anachronistic, of course, since this big 420mm gun was built only two centuries later. It was used against the Maginot Line (Bastion of Schoenenbourg) by the Nazis. Without result since this Strategic Line had been built to resist these huge calibers.
[20] Of the Holy Roman Empire of which Prince Eugene was the general-in-chief, even though he was French and born in Paris.

His Imperial Majesty and by the States-General[21], according to the arrangements they would agree upon among themselves...

These proposals, few people believed that the Emperor must have observed them, or that he had the intention to deprive himself of an army of thirty thousand men, for wage war in Spain[22].» Spurred on by their failure, both argued and discussed firmly on the *big bucks*, the money, that all were now committed to providing. Each one swore that, this time, he would respect its commitments without fail. Until then, both had given their best: the Germans and the Dutch their blood, and the English their gold. But something had changed among the English. They forgot the blood they had not shed, and the tens of thousands killed they had not had to mourn, but they felt frustrated at having given that much gold. In fact, they were still pretending to negotiate their participation, but they were already no longer part of the coalition. Great moral principles came like smokescreens to conceal the deep reasons for their desertion from the battlefields.

The Queen... "promised to do the greater efforts to provide Peace for Europe, and satisfaction to all parties[23]." She kept repeating that she wished "sincerely to make every effort to provide the repose of Europe[24]". The mystification remained complete for all those who were not in the secret of the gods, that is, for almost everyone in the world. In front of them, the French kept a tight grip on the

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[21] That is to say, the United Provinces (Holland).
[22] Swift,Book I, pp.62 ff.
[23] Ibid., Book II, p.119.
[24] Ibid., Book II, p.121.

thread that would hold England at the end of its hook and hold it at its mercy. The English felt that if they did not follow the French marshal's directives to the letter, they would lose the heap of gold that the Spanish Slave Trade to Latin America represented. The Grand Treasurer of England, quoted by Sir Winston Churchill in his book, implied this when he said, with a touch of naivety, that "if the Duke of Ormond had refused to act offensively, he had no doubt, he had followed her instructions: and it was prudence not to risk a battle on the point of concluding *a good peace*, especially considering they had *to deal with an enemy so apt to break his word*[25]." Let us admire the skill with which the English Grand Treasurer quickly dismissed to others the ability to break the word given, while his Government was precisely betraying the High-Allies with whom he had signed in 1701 in The Hague the *Treaty of Grande Alliance offensive against France,* whose *Article Eight* forbade signing a separate peace with the French.

It became obvious and clear that the stubbornness of the Allies to impose on the French some unacceptable and humiliating conditions, had backfired, in accordance with the directive of the wise Chinese theorist Sun Tsu[26] who advised never to be relentless on a desperate opponent, because he can become nasty and dangerous.

Carefully exalted by constant propaganda, the French people, crushed with taxes not only to pay this ruinous war but to maintain in the most extravagant luxury this parasitic Aristocracy that had the impudence and

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[25] Churchill, p. 948.

[26] Article 7.36 from *L'Art de la Guerre de Sun Tsu*.

cynicism to call itself Noblesse, the French people, therefore, offered their blood to satisfy his declining Sun King, in the same way that the Aztecs sacrificed the life of their most beautiful children to Tlaloc, God of Rain. I would not forget here the valiant Acadian people —full members of the French people— whom these secret London negotiations had cowardly sacrificed to save the rest of the nation, as one abandons a coat to the fangs of a dog to save one's life.

The old French monarch had put his country in a desperate situation. Propaganda in France had been so active and so profound that the Clergy themselves, usually an accomplice with the Aristocracy to exploit the People, decided to do his little to help its King on his knees. In addition to its novenas of prayers, the Clergy *promised* (just promised) to give its gold: "The Clergy in particular, promised to give the King the Sacred Vases to facilitate the continuation of the war[27]." He only promised it. in case it became absolutely necessary. And even if Hell is, it is said, paved with good intentions," he took away a great one earthly prestige. But it was already a huge effort for this social class, the Clergy, as greedy as the Nobility.

Thus, "this powerful Kingdom that was seen as exhausted, pushed to the limit by the recklessness of the Allies, or by the perversity of those who led their Councils, found enough resources to support each other during the next three campaigns[28] and, in the last one, became too powerful for the Confederate Army, by the blindness and stubbornness of the Dutch who ventured to act without the

[27] Swift, Book II, p.83.
[28] The campaigns of 1710, 1711 and 1712.

help of England's guineas [or rather without the Duke of Marlborough] which they had shamefully abandoned[29]. Here too, the English historian Jonathan Swift, the same one who had so beautifully imagined the *Travels of Gulliver*, still shows a great creative imagination by projecting on the victims —the Dutch and the Austrians— the deficiencies and smallnesses of his own homeland.



The results of the year 1712 looked better for the French, even though the Campaigns of 1710 and 711 had been only generally satisfactory. April 9th, 1712 James Butler, Duke of Ormond, the new English Commander-in-Chief in replacement of the Duke of Marlborough, who had been dismissed on charges of embezzlement[30] had therefore arrived in The Hague. There, the Dutch and the Austrians immediately informed him that he would not be the generalissimo of the Allied Armies, as Marlborough had been.

The Prince Eugène de Savoy-Carignan was going to occupy this supreme function. The Allies had 122,000 men [with 120 guns] in front of the 90,000 Frenchmen of Maréchal de Villars, who were very poorly equipped and supplied with a deficient artillery. So the future was not

[29] Swift Book Two, p. 83. Here again, the shame of the betrayal is cleverly shifted onto the Dutch, onto those who did not betray. The segment is not highlighted in the original text.
[30] In any case, even if Marlborough had been an angel of honesty, he was too good a strategist for the French not to demand his immediate recall, just as, in 1754, the English plotted at Versailles to have Dupleix sacked when they could not overcome him on the ground.

perfectly assured for the French, but their morale had turned out to be still perched at the zenith, thanks to the concealed collaboration of the English against their Allies. As is well known, the fickle goddess Victory[31] lets herself seduced only by soldiers with high morale. Victory hates discouraged armies.

In England, the quarrel continued, fierce, between the pacifist Tories and the bellicose Whigs. The Whigs attributed to the "Corrupt Ministers, Sold to France[32]" the great successes of the French armies during this campaign of 1712 which followed the betrayal of the English. "The ordinary speeches were that the French victory of Denain, the reduction of Douai by the French, that of Quesnoy and Bouchain by le same ones were to be attributed to their conduct (that of the English Tories). England's haste to make premature commitments with France induced France to ask for conditions which she would never have demanded if England, behaving more honorably, had dealt in concert with her Allies[33]"

With rumors of British desertion on his mind, Prince Eugene systematically opted for caution. He decided to settle for laying siege to Le Quesnoy fortress, after having tested the new English commander-in-chief by proposing a battle against the French and having found that the Englishman was shying away. Caution was therefore advised. The siege of Le Quesnoy began in the late spring of 1712, on June 8th precisely. Persistent rumors of English treachery were still circulating among the Dutch and Austrian

[31] Niké in Greek.
[32] Swift., Book Four.
[33] Torcy, Vol.III,

troops. Some even more sinister rumors claimed that the English wanted to provoke a battle and then desert with all their mercenaries so that Prince Eugène would be defeated by numerical inferiority

Duke of Ormond's Army was composed of "eighteen thousand men of national troops [Scot, Irish, German Legion and English], and about thirty thousand Germans mercenaries[34]." The national troops were divided into approximately 2500 English, 5000 Scots, 5000 Irish, and 5500 Germans. "It was learned in that time, from Utrecht and the Army, that mercenaries in the pay of Queen Anne were solicited to abandon English service. There was even a rumor that Prince Eugène was planning to seize the English soldiers, which was not unfounded[35]." According to other rumors, no less alarming, secret talks had already taken place between France and England so that the latter would abandon the Allied camp in the middle of the war.

The siege du Quesnoy lasted until July 4th. It was a strange siege because the French garrison and the English attackers had ordered not to shoot at each other. In the memory of an old trooper, we had never seen that on any battlefield on the planet. Nowadays, you would think scriptwriters were shooting a movie and that the sound of gunshots would be added to the soundtrack later on. But at that time, the Dutch, the Austrian and the Germans who were following the different assault operations through a

[34] Swift, Book Four, p. 321. Jonathan Swift inflates the numbers a bit. In reality, the purely British troops numbered only between 12 and 15,000 men, including 2,500 English.
[35] Churchill, and also Swift, Queen Anne Stuart's Speech to Parliament on June 17th, 1712, Book Four, p. 342. The italicized segment was not highlighted in the original text.

lorgnette, really thought they were dreaming[36]. Had they all been struck by total deafness? Some of the more acerbic-minded Allied officers thought that this was the only battle the English had fought *alone* in this war against the French.

Ormond, heavily solicited by his Allies, had agreed, as a compromise, to participate in the siege of Le Quesnoy. He detached, to join the Allied investment troops, 7 Infantry Battalions and 9 Squadrons of Cavalry, whose pay was paid jointly by England and the Netherlands. The English general-in-chief sent a message to Villars in the greatest secrecy to explain that his participation was only intended to "donner le change" to give a false lead as a tactic diversion for the Allies. In other words, *pretend* and *make it look good*, and camouflage the secret agreement between the French and the English[37]. But the strangeness of equivocal behavior attracts more attention and strikes the mind more than a frank and unambiguous movement. Villars, furious, intimidated Ormond with an order to interrupt the siege, but the latter, not knowing what to do in order not to lose face completely in front of his so-called Allies, contented himself with not replying and playing dead; which, on a battlefield, was not unusual. Eugene realized that the English were in secret and occult contact with the French. He, therefore, began to discreetly separate his own regiments from those of the English in order to guard himself against a sudden about-face, as certain unhealthy rumors led to believe, against a reversal of alliance on their part,

[36] The beginning of the siege was made with the English Army, but the city was taken only by Dutch and German troops. However, this was not a new thing on the battlefields; the fortress of Gibraltar, for example, was taken from the Spaniards by German ground troops of the Holy Roman Empire.
[37] Pelet, XI, Tome.III, Part III. pp.462-463. J.J.G., et Vault, F.E. de, Mémoires militaires relatifs à la Succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV, XV- XVI, Paris, 1836-1842.

which could have put his own troops in danger. Actually, a friend who stabs in the back is undoubtedly more pernicious and more effective in his crime than a notorious enemy, of whom one can beware.

As soon as the rumor spread that England was about to make peace with the French, a new wave of vehement opposition developed in all the Royal Courts of the Grande Alliance. The Dutch Ministers said that "the Queen Anne's Speech[38] had made them lose all the fruits of the war... The populace of Holland became heated and said publicly that they were betrayed by England. The sermons that were preached in several towns of the Estates-General[39] were filled with terms that showed little respect for His British Majesty; they called her a Papist or Popish and an enemy of the State Generals. The Guard of the Small Seal[40] believed to glimpse something extraordinary in this tumult and feared that the people would make an attempt on the Queen's life. It is certain that a few days before, the Estates-General seemed very disposed to follow the measures which the Queen had taken, and that they would have consented to the general armistice, if the Count of Zinzendorf, the Holy Roman Emperor's Plenipotentiary, had not sown jealousy between England and the Estates Generals by order of his Court, and had not at the same time made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the

[38] During the Negotiations of Utrecht, Queen Anne told her parliamentarians how much her policy had gained for England, suggesting that if the other High Allies had joined forces with the English in a more submissive manner, the French would have been obliged to give more to England's other allies. This text of June 17th, 1712, was translated and published in Dutch, which enraged everyone.

[39] The States = the Estates-General are the United Provinces, i.e., what we call Holland today.

[40] Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, Keeper of the Small Seal and Earl of Stafford, was one of the English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

Ministers of Prussia, the Palatinate, and Hanover, in order to engage them to continue the war. *It is easy to understand that these three Electors, who provided nothing but "human materials* (soldiers)*" for the pay and subsidies they received*, *must not have had much difficulty in accepting the Emperor's propositions*[41]." Jonathan Swift, an unconditional patriot of his country as all citizens of His Gracious Majesty are wont to be, accused the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire of wishing to continue the war for money, for their *mercenary traffic* was bringing them fortunes. This was probably true to some extent, but it is also certain that England had taken advantage of this *war mercenary slavery* and would take advantage of it in subsequent wars to make up for its poor volunteerism among the English population.

The Count of Zinzendorf, as we have mentioned, was trying to sow *zizănium* (tares; discord, vices, zizania = ivraie) throughout continental Europe —so much so that one wonders if this expression was not created from this plant. In Vienna, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire protested strongly and insistently against the proposal to deprive the House of Habsburg of the Spanish throne and its world empire. For the French, this was neither more nor less than the very purpose of the War of the Spanish Succession.

Was it not at the suggestion of William III of England[42] that the Emperor had engaged in this Spanish Succession War? And then, how to protest effectively against

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[41] Swift, Book IV, pp.343-344.The Court of the Holy Roman Empire which sat in Vienna.

[42] The latter had immediately withdrawn after having opened the hostilities, at his own expense, it is true, since he had died by accident.

projects which were only imprecise rumors. The Allies had the impression to fight against gossips of janitors, against windmills. The former ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire, the Count of Gallas, a most informed man in the diplomatic world, had been totally unaware that his own staff housed a French spy (Abbé Gaultier), who officiated in his chapel and confessed from his talkative wife more than enough to save her soul. The clergyman had even succeeded in recruiting a secretary from the Austrian embassy who had provided the French with the top-secret official reports[43] that the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire regularly sent to Vienna and Barcelona[44] . The text was in cipher, but the "holy" priest had also miraculously managed to steal the cipher. The Hanoverian Court[45], "whose Prince [of Brunswick] was destined to inherit the English crown when Queen Anne passed away, fought angrily against the plan to interrupt the state of war, especially if the fruits of victory were to be left to the French[46]. The English Government and the London Merchant Lobbies ignored this.

While all these treacheries were being plotted and all these long knives were being sharpened in felt lounges richly decorated with furniture and tapestries from the Gobelins[47] or Aubusson, The soldiers of all nations —with the exception of the English— continued to slaughter each

[43] The French loyally handed them over to the English.

[44] Barcelona was the provisional capital of Charles III of Habsburg, a candidate for the Spanish throne. Vienna was, at that time, the de facto capital of the Holy Roman Empire and of the Habsburgs.

[45] Like the other governments of the Grand Alliance.

[46] *Fruits of the victory* that were the accession of Philip V of Anjou, a Bourbon, to the throne of Spain.

[47] Louis XIV himself created the Royal Manufacture of the Crown in 1667.

other with courage and determination, in the name of patriotism and virility, virtues which they were showered with on all the battlefields of France, Italy, Spain, America, Germany and Flanders.

Between July 22nd and 24th, 1712, the siege of Denain took place. The French Army lined up in battle in front of the Allied ramparts of the fortress-city. By noon, the French were ready. The trench was so shallow, said the Marechal de Villars, that he judged it unnecessary to fill it with fascines[48]: "*Our fascines will be the bodies of the first of our people to fall into the trench*[49]," he said, brandishing his pretorian hand crowned with beautiful Alencon lace. He showed with these words the immense respect that this marshal of France felt for the human life in general and for his soldiers in particular.

If the Duke of Marlborough passionately spared the lives of his English soldiers as if they were his own brothers, and in order to achieve his tactical objectives made *generous* use of German blood, the Maréchal de Villars, on the other hand, seemed unapproachable to pity the heaps of French dead, which in his mind were no more important than if they had been German or Dutch.

At Denain, then, Villars gave the signal for the attack to three columns of 36 infantry battalions each. The drums beat out the assault, very slowly, at one step per second, and the line of troops began to advance slowly, without firing a shot, to within a few meters of the ramparts on which the Allied troops were massed. The latter began to

[48] The fascines are faggots intended to fill the pits.
[49] Villars says to Albergotti.

rain three rounds of musketry and a murderous cannonade on the French, after loading their guns with grapeshots and *anti-personnel* fragments. "The French received the fire without flinching and in perfect order[50], while hundreds of French soldiers fell stricken to death."

—*Close ranks!* shouted the chiefs, stepping over the dead and wounded, with a calm that bordered on indifference.

At the signal, the French battleline, or what was left of it, sprang up, sword in hand, crossed the ditches, using their feet and hands, and assaulted the parapet. The battle was fierce, and then the Allies began to retreat in disorder to their second line of defense. The surviving Frenchmen then charged the second line with great fury, overcome by the smell of blood, the sight of their fallen comrades, and the long-held exasperation of having to stand almost motionless under the barrage of lethal projectiles. Then the German and Dutch troops rushed back to the bridge over the Scheldt, anxious to cross it and take refuge in safety on the bridgehead guarded by the Allied Cavalry. The bridge, made up of copper boats assembled and moored together, broke up under the formidable rush. At this point, the river was nearly two meters deep with steep banks. In the panic, whole battalions rushed into the water and drowned. Each man tried in vain to step on his comrades to stay afloat. Several allied generals, caught in the rushing throng, suffered the same fate.

Fearing that the large number of corpses clogging the waters of the Scheldt would block the locks at

[50] Said Sir Winston Churchill in his book cited in bibliography.

Valenciennes and cause epidemics, the French High Command kept units on the battlefield, promising "30 pennies" for each allied corpse that the French soldiers managed to retrieve, not to mention the booty they might find in the pockets of the corpses. The French Army then dug a giant mass grave to throw the dead's into. The Dutch general Keppel, *Duke of Albemarle*[51], and about twenty distinguished officers were taken prisoner by the French on this occasion.

But the French successes on the battlefields during these last campaigns, and especially during the Battle of Denain, began to make the English fear that the French plenipotentiaries would change their minds and reduce the Royal-Bribe that the French had granted them for betraying their friends. So Queen Anne decided to put an end to the secret talks and to proceed with the last signatures so that the French could not go back and withdraw from the secret Franco-English agreement. Thus, while the other Allies languished in Utrecht, railing against those incomprehensible Englishmen who, after having been the soul, the flame, and the banker of the war, seemed to have been struck by some divine grace to become suddenly zealous propagandists of Peace, and promoters of Concord and Fraternity among Nations, the secret Convention was settled in France, at Fontainebleau, between the two Secretaries of State of France and England. The latter then decided that the signing of the truce, or rather of the armistice on land and sea between France and England, would be *for four months*, and would not begin until after the courtesy

[51] Ancestor of Camilla Parker Bowles, first mistress, then 2nd wife of Prince of Wales Charles Windsor, as Keppel later became English.

audience to which Monsieur St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, was to attend with the King of France. The Sun King, wanting to show his satisfaction with Queen Anne who had saved him from humiliation, received the English ambassador with great distinction. The final Treaty of Suspension of Hostilities was signed the same day. The armistice would expire by the end of December 1712. In fact, it was actually extended until the official general Peace.

What the High Allies also did not know was that, in late April 1712, the same Secretary of State St. John had, in accordance with this secret Franco-English Agreement, dispatched a new emissary to Ormond to make sure that all of Britain's troops, including foreign troops in England's pay, were, as demanded by the French, kept carefully under his direct orders. Finally, on May 21st, 1712, St. John had transmitted "*The Restraining Orders*" to General Ormond:[52] "This is, therefore, a positive order from the Queen to your Grace that you avoid engaging in a siege, or risking a battle, until you have further orders from Her Majesty. I am, at the same time, charged to let your Grace know that the Queen would like you to conceal the receipt of this order..."

And in a postscript: "P.S. I had almost forgotten to tell Your Grace that communication is given of this order to the Court of France; *so that if the Maréchal de Villars takes you, in any unofficial way, takes the initiative to notify you of it, Your Grace will answer accordingly* [will

[52] Bollingbroke Correspondence, ii, 319-320 [Minister of State St. John became Viscount Bolingbroke for services rendered during these secret negotiations]. See also Sir Winston Churchill, Marlborough, His Life and Times, University of Chicago Press, Volume IV, Chapter XXXII, The Restraining Orders, page 939-952.

have to obey]. If this order is changed on either side, we will be, by honor, obliged to give notice to the other[53]."

The English chronicler Swift also confirms that Queen Anne "ordered the Duke of Ormond to fight no battle, nor to undertake any siege, until he had received further instructions. She ordered him, however, to keep this order secret and to seek the best excuses he could find, in case some occasion for action arose[54].

Thus, the English commander-in-chief had absolute orders from the Queen of England *to obey the chief of the enemy Army!* This is an exceptional fact in the history of nations that call themselves civilized. The Duke of Ormond must have wondered how the politicians of his country had the audacity to speak of Honor[55]! The penultimate sentence of the dispatch lacked clarity. And we must rely on another dispatch, that of May 21st, 1712, from Abbé Gaultier to Torcy, to know what role Ormond should really play in case of battle: "I asked Monsieur St. John what the Maréchal de Villars should do if by chance Prince Eugène and the Dutch launched an offensive[56] . He replied that there was nothing else to do but to fall upon him [Prince Eugene] and crush him and his Army[57]."

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[53] *Bolingbroke Correspondence,* ii, pp. 319-320 and Churchill, p. 945

[54] Swift, Book IV, p.316.

[55] "The honor will oblige us to..." William Shakespeare said in his work Henry IV: "What is honor? A word. What is that word, honor? Air!" Francisco de Quevedo, on the other hand, made a small mistake when he wrote in Marcus Brutus: "The man who loses honor because of trade, loses both trade and honor." for obviously, by her act of treason towards her Allies, England has certainly lost Honor, but certainly not trade since this nation has become, as we have seen, the first slave nation in the world.

[56] An offensive against the French.

[57] Edinburgh Review, October 1835, page 9. " He replied that there would be nothing to do but to fall upon him and tear him and his Army to pieces. "Also quoted by Churchill, p. 945. It was very clear: if England's allies attacked the French, the English, solicited by Villars, were to join him in crushing them.

Such were the *Restraining Orders* or *Orders prohibiting combat against the French*, which served as the main evidence[58] to convict St. John when two years later, the English throne passed to the German, George Ist of Hanover[59]. The royal directives to Ormond were very insistent that the English general *keeps under his direct command all the Scottish, Irish, German and English troops and especially the numerous Prussian mercenary battalions*. Ormond was also ordered to drag his feet in case Prince Eugene wanted to fight the French. The English commander-general wrote to St. John "that he would obey his orders. The English Commandant-General wrote to St. John "that he would punctually obey the Queen's orders, that he would keep them secret as far as possible and would even make it impossible to suspect the cause of the conduct he would take. [The Commandant-general also wrote] that it would be very difficult to prevent it from soon becoming known, and that he would have difficulty in discovering the secret reasons which would oblige him to oppose the designs of Prince Eugene, whether he wanted to give battle or to make the siege of Le Quesnoy[60]."

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[58] Oxford, Robert Harley, Earl of, Articles of Indictment for High Treason and other great Crimes, & for Malfeasance against Robert Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. As the House of Commons presented them to the House of Peers: July 20th, 1715. To which have been added the charges against James Due of Ormond and Henry Viscount Bolingbroke. Translated from the English and published by Henri Scheurleer, at The Hague, 1715.

[59] Very attached to his German origins, George I always refused to learn English. He continued to make long and regular visits to Hanover, New Brunswick, which remained his main preoccupation, despite his efforts to respect his duties to his new Kingdom. He surrounded himself with a large German staff. This made him unpopular in England, and the antipathy that developed against him probably helped the Jacobite plot to overthrow him in favor of James II's son, James Edward Stuart, nicknamed "the Pretender.

[60] Torcy, Book III, Part IV, p.206

But in spite of any clever concealment on the battlefields, soldiers of all nations soon began to realize that the English Army refused to fight the French. England's Allies could not fail to notice the change in behavior. We have already mentioned it. They noted that the French Villars, stationed only a few kilometers from the Confederate Army[61], took no precautions to entrench his Army or even to send out reconnaissance to probe enemy positions. It seemed that the French wished to provoke and incite an Allied attack by inviting them to fall into a trap.

These apparent "*imprudence*" or *carelessness* on the part of such an experienced strategist as Maréchal de Villars redoubled the suspicion of Prince Eugene de Savoie, Count of Soissons. The latter decided to put the English to the test. He proposed to the English commander-in-chief to attack the French positions, which seemed to be without defense. The Duke of Ormond refused, claiming that he had to wait for orders from the Queen of England[62]. The Allied armies remained motionless in spite of the inviting provocations of the French. The test was convincing.

Upon hearing this reply from Ormond, quite incredible on a battlefield where speed of execution is an essential factor of success, the Dutch Deputies immediately put him on notice to tell them if he had orders to refuse battle: "Thereupon the Ministers and Generals of the

61 Dutch and imperial since Prince Eugene became the generalissimo. In Marlborough's time, the Confederates were the Anglo-Dutch, and the Imperials were the Germans.

62 *Mémoires de la vie de mylord Due d'Ormond*, translated from English, published at The Hague, 1737. 2 volumes, Volume I, p. 203. Also quoted in La conduite du duc d'Ormond pendant la campagne de 1712, en Flandre. Où l'on voit par les lettres des lords Oxford & Bulingbroke, & des généraux Villars & Ormond, toute intrigue du dernier ministere d'Angleterre, chez Henri Scheurleer, La Haye, 1715.

Allies became alarmed, and became enraged, speaking against the Queen in terms not very measured, and against those whom she employed in her Councils. They said that England was betraying them, and took the countenance of those who have received an insult, and who are disposed to take revenge[63]."

In the face of the official and unofficial clamors of reprobation from the Estates-General[64], the Queen of England showed that she was "in no way embarrassed. Indeed, far from paying attention to the reproaches of the Estates-General contained in a very agressive Letter they had written to her, nor in a Letter which the Duke of Ormond had received from their Deputies in the Army, full of offensive representations concerning the refusal he was opposing to accept the designs of Prince Eugène, this Princess only thought of organizing the plan of the suspension of arms, so that the Act was incessantly signed[65]. Thus, a very feminine reaction, instead of backing down under the accusations of cowardice and treason, as an ordinary man would have done, the Queen of England rose up in anger and took advantage of the opportunity to go further into the camp of the French in order to take revenge on the Allies who suspected her - with good reason - of abandoning them. She ordered the Viscount Bolingbroke[66] to sign the Ceasefire Plan, of which we have spoken.

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[63] Swift, Book Four, p.320

[64] Or the United Provinces called Holland today.

[65] Torcy, Vol.III, Part.IV, p.207

[66] It is, of course, St.John that Queen Anne has just named viscount for services rendered. He is now Henry St John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke 1678-1751.

This Plan contained four articles: the **first** extended the suspension of arms to three and even four months, if necessary, according to the wish of the King of France. The **second** article specified for the umpteenth time the Franco-Spanish bilateral renunciations. As the London Lobbies feared that the French would try to pull a fast one [a dirty trick], Queen Anne wanted the Renunciation pronounced by the *Reyes Católicos*[67] to be ratified by the Parliament of each of the French provinces. But Louis XIV was not to be counted on to play the slightest game that remotely resembled democracy. The King of France, who had once had enough trouble taming the recalcitrant Nobility, refused to give too much power to all those unpredictable ambitious people. He changed this clause and promised to accept the Renunciation of his grandson, to publish this decision and to "register it in all the Parliaments of the Kingdom in the most solemn manner[68]; that moreover, the Letters Patent[69] that His Majesty had granted to this Prince in the month of December 1700... would be stricken from the records of the Parliament, and with the consent of the *Reyes Católicos*, and abolished, and annulled." The **third** article stated that, on the day of the general cease-fire, the French garrison of Dunkirk would be replaced by English troops. "The fortress would remain in the hands of the Queen of England until the decision on the equivalent that the Dutch would pay for the demolition of the fortifications and locks, and the

[67] The King of Spain, of course.

[68] Torcy, Vol. III. Part. IV, p.208

[69] These Letters Patent specified that, despite his absence from the Kingdom of France and even though he occupied the Spanish throne, this Prince would retain his rights to the Crown of France.

destruction of the port of this city[70]. *The **fourth** article* provided that the city of Dunkirk would strive to live normally after the destruction of the military port and fortifications, and that the civil port would continue to function and admit merchant vessels from all countries, including those from England, of course.

At The Hague, where the English were called *traitors*[71], serious consideration was given to incorporating the non-British troops in the pay of the English [the German mercenaries] into the other Allied armies and, above all, to *disarming and arresting*[72] *the 12,000 British soldiers* stationed in Flanders as mere renegades. Only the Prussian representative, fearing that England would refuse to pay his Government for the delayed hire of the numerous Prussian mercenary troops, opposed this humiliation to these soldiers and to the English Government.

The tactical consequences of the proposed desertion of British troops from continental battlefields were unknown. That could just as easily transform the theatre of military operations into an infamous chaos, into a grotesque and tragic farce that would make the French absolute masters of the battlefields; but it could also pass completely unnoticed. Indeed, one must keep in mind that when the Duke of Marlborough was in charge of allied tactics and strategy, he made liberal use of his German,

[70] Torcy, Vol. III. Part.IV p. 208. In fact, it was the Dutch who had to give to France the fortress of Tournay to compensate them for Dunkirk, which was given to the English. A fool's game to the detriment of the Dutch.
[71] The English traitors," said by Churchill, p. 947
[72] Churchill, p. 947. "It was, in fact, seriously planned to disarm and arrest the twelve thousand British troops in Flanders."

Dutch, Scottish and Irish troops, but spared his English troops so much that they were almost useless in obtaining a decisive tactical decision, i.e. a victory. But what the Allied politicians and historians seemed to ignore was that the *number of soldiers* is not the only variable and the only determining element for the capricious goddess Victory to feel invited to one side or the other of the battlefield. *The decisiveness of the general-in-chief* is even more important. And even if the tactics of the Duke of Marlborough were simplistic: continuous destruction of friendly and enemy battalions at a single point, until the threat of complete extermination of the enemy army incited the latter to consider itself defeated and to retreat; it worked satisfactorily, at least if one disregarded the morality, the humanity, the sensibility and all the feelings that ran through the mind and heart of a Europe that was always quick to believe itself more civilized than the rest of the world in the Age of Enlightenment. This tactic [*The meat-grinder Tactic*], which had proved its worth during this long war, implied the *numerical superiority* of the Allies in order to keep a few battalions in reserve –the English battalions– whose sole and ultimate function would be to go and plant the British flag on the heap of German, Dutch, Scottish and Irish corpses, not to mention the French in their white uniforms who were fighting alone against all those beautiful shimmering uniforms. Even after the departure of the British, the overall strength of the Allies should remain numerically superior to that of the French, unless the mercenaries remained with the British; which was highly unlikely.

Two other decisive elements constitute the strength and the power of an army - if we put discipline, always indispensable, in parenthesis. These are *morale and... money*. It is quite certain that, with the English defection, money –the key to the war– would be lacking and, consequently, the mercenary troops would not accept for long to spill their blood and be killed on credit, whereas, as a man of good sense so rightly said, *mercenaries are people who offer their lives to earn a living*. In the case of this war, morale was even more decisive.

The betrayal of England left a very negative impact on the morale of the Allied troops. The battle of Denain was the irrefutable confirmation of this. "The Count of Albermarle commanded a detached Corps of Prince Eugène's Army at Denain, his camp was well entrenched. He occupied this post mainly to guard during the siege of Landrecies all the provisions necessary for the great Army (food and ammunitions). They were gathered in military magazines in Marchiennes. The Maréchaux de Villars and de Montesquiou attacked it on July 24th, forced the entrenchments, completely defeated the Allied troops who were defending them, and made themselves masters of Marchiennes and of the military magazines. Albemarle was taken prisoner, and several officers-general of the enemy were lost in that day[73]"

The strategic goal of Prince Eugène, who was now commander-in-chief, was to invade France. He stated bluntly that the Allied defeat at Denain would have no

[73] Torcy.

impact on the siege of Landrecies and that it would not prevent him from invading France. He had promised when he went into exile outside of France that he would return with arms in hand. In the grip of a great anger, he had dreamed that he would "penetrate France, ravage Picardy, Champagne[74], give battle, win it, and be seen victorious at the gates of Paris. It was a beautiful compensatory dream intended to raise his own self-esteem and to realize the promise he had made to himself when leaving his native Paris, after the refusal of the king of France to grant him the command of the French Army. And he intended to turn his dreams into reality, no matter how many corpses it would mean. Thank God, his dream remained a fantasy, just as the dreams of millions of older men who, at the age of twenty, fantasized they were destined to become millionaires, prime ministers, celebrities or archbishops.

Even before their victory at Denain, and in accordance with the secret Treaty with the English, the French had asked the English garrisons of the great Flemish fortresses of Ghent and Bruges to make sure that they had these cities under their sole control. In consequence, the count of Stafford ordered the English governors of these cities to make sure that they held the fortifications and to guard them against any surprise from the Dutch or Walloon troops garrisoned in these cities. These precautions were necessary *before* the British Army could be ordered to abandon their Allies on the battlefield itself. The paradoxical situation was that the French were secretly giving

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[74] The purpose of ravaging the enemy's land was not to make the peasants suffer, but to impoverish the Prince who owned the land. The peasant was, in fact, no more considered than the sheep or the horses. Sometimes the invaders pushed the vice to the point of sparing only the residences of the local nobles in order to make them hated by the population.

orders to the British garrisons. As a result, the situation on the battlefields became terribly difficult and embarrassing for the English troops.

As soon as he was informed of this secret agreement, the Maréchal de Villars wrote to the Duke of Ormond, the English commander-in-chief, to let him know that the Queen of England had allowed him to enter into epistolary contact with him. He had told him that the King of France had ordered him to write to him *to collaborate on the battlefield.* The situation was really unheard of, ubuesque. Any collaboration between two enemy generals was, everywhere else, taxed as treason and punishable by firing squad.

Finally, the situation became so tense that one of the English plenipotentiaries, the Bishop of Bristol[75], finally confessed to his Allies that the Queen of England had decided to suspend hostilities with the French. England's Allies remained dumbfounded and petrified at such a situation, which they had certainly assumed up to that point, but which they could not help believing to be false. How could they not believe that these rumors were simply the product of a hoax propagated by England's enemies, a hoax that we would now call disinformation or fake news since the Cold War coined the term? No one wanted to accept the reality of it. But the evidence had to be faced. Gradually, the Dutch and Austrian Allies came to resent what they called England's betrayal. Treason? Betrayal, certainly, seen from the angle of the Allies; but such is the

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[75] The other Plenipotentiary, the Earl of Stafford, had cautiously decided to return to London on the pretext of seeking orders from Queen Anne.

ambiguity of the concept of betrayal, that even if England had betrayed its friends, it had not betrayed itself! On the contrary, this island had shown itself to be quite faithful to its own interests. Among the Allies, the Dutch, in particular, were the most bruised. Real threats of violence arose against Queen Anne and against the English in general.

According to the secret French-English agreement, the English were obliged to desert the battlefields with their mercenary troops, which represented a far greater danger than the withdrawal of the English troops themselves. In fact, as we have mentioned several times in this treatise, because of the considerable importance of this fact, the English gave all the countries of the coalition very substantial military aid, which consisted –apart from direct aid in the form of pounds sterling– in paying them the salaries of their own mercenary troops and of German soldiers in general. It was out of these fabulous budgets that the Marlborough debtor had taken the bad habit of allocating to himself prodigious sums which should have gone to the ordinary German soldiers, to their families, and, in the worst case, to their widows and orphans. Thus, he quickly became "the richest of all Anne's subjects", the richest man in England. This perverse behavior resulted in months of delay in the payment of wages to German mercenaries and all those German families who had given their son to put food on the table. And they received nothing.



These dilatory maneuvers had a double benefit for the English general-in-chief, because each battle would always result in thousands of casualties, including the soldier's pay. Instead of being paid to the unfortunate widows left behind, salaries were discreetly deducted for his own account by John Churchill, Marlborough's first-in-command. He was even accused of provoking the death of officers, not to steal their wives (as King David had done between two psalms intoned to the glory of the Almighty), but because an officer's pay was equivalent to that of a company of mercenaries. However, some of the bravest English politicians did not fail to throw this repugnant infamy in his face in the middle of Parliament. Earl Powlett[1], a Tory politician, declared before Marlborough that "Nobody could doubt of the Duke of Ormond's courage and bravery; but that he was not like a certain General, who led troops to the slaughter to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head in a battle, or against stone walls, in order to fill his pockets by disposing of their commission.' These were very violent accusations which, in France as in England, would have led to a duel to the death. What we know today as a legal dispute was once a duel. But Queen Anne interfered, at the request of the Countess Powlett, who did not want the Duke of Marlborough to add to his misdeeds the murder of her old husband. On the other hand, curiously enough, the two witnesses of the two princes, the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun, fought a

[1] "No one doubts the courage and bravery of the Duke of Ormond; but [he added] that he was not like a certain general [alluding to Marlborough, of course] who led his troops to the slaughter so that a great number of officers were smashed in the head in battle or sent against stone walls, in order to fill his own pockets by appropriating their pay." That Sir Winston Churchill calls it *Poulette* is a mockery, for in English, chicken also means cowardly, which proves that even great men can sometimes show pettiness.

duel by substitution, intended to wash away in their own blood the insult inflicted on their friend. They succeeded only too well; they killed each other. "The Duke of Hamilton [wounded] fell upon his enemy after having struck him a mortal blow. A Scottish general[2], named Makarteney [McCartney]), Mohun's second-in-command, seeing Hamilton fall, pierced his heart with a sword[3]." Such a crime was not in the normalcy, a highly policed realm of dueling, but denoted the implacable hatred in which English politics was then rife, all washed down with a strong mug of Scotch whisky. Barbara Holland does not say what happened to McCartney, who had committed murder. He was probably decapitated with an ax if he was a nobleman, or hanged from a common hemp rope if he was not; hemp that has the curious property of sending the one who plays with it to the Seventh Heaven.

Meanwhile, the various Allied armies refused to let themselves be stripped, without protest, of their German mercenaries, whose salaries England paid, because all things considered, the typically English troops were few in number and represented only a negligible fraction of the

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[2] Who had served on the continent under the Duke of Marlborough? Charles Mohun was the 4th Baron Mohun, and Hamilton, James Duke of Hamilton. In her book Gentlemen's Blood: A History of Dueling, from Swords at Dawn to Pistols at Dusk, [Bloomsbury Publishing, London 2004], Barbara Holland recounts the duel that took place in front of an infamous tavern, the Rose Tavern, which was demolished in 1775 to make way for the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden (in Catherine Street), suggesting that alcohol, rather than honor, was the real trigger for this barbaric fight. "Hamilton leaped on Mohun and slashed deeply into his left side, then plunged his sword straight into his right side, the blade coming out in his back. Thrown back, Mohun struck Hamilton's calf and then his arm savagely and painfully, but the older man (Hamilton) persisted. Mohun then raised his blade to its highest point and plunged it 20 cm into Hamilton's chest. At that moment, the latter whipped Tair with his sword to reach the other, so Mohun threw himself backward and tumbled into the pit at the same time that Hamilton, with his last strength filled with blind rage, pierced him through and through like a loaf of bread in the crotch and through the buttock, severing an artery in the process. As Baron Mohun breathed his last, his witness, McCartney, slit his grievously wounded opponent's throat; an infamous act that contributed greatly to the bad feelings between Scotland and England.

[3] Torcy, pp.428-429.

army of the Grand Alliance. The number of British troops varied during the war, between 12,000 and 15,000 men, including 3,000 English, 5,000 Scots and 5,000 Irish. The latter were sometimes led by English officers, while the total number of men in the Allied army was 120,000. The English represented only 2.5% of the total Allied force, the Scots =5% and the Irish 5%. The Dutch without their German mercenaries represented about 16.6% and the Germans in general 71% including the German mercenaries who reinforced the various national armies. According to the Secret Agreement between Torcy and St. John, it was understood that when England abandoned the front, it would withdraw at least 40,000 men (3/4 mercenaries) from the coalition. This was the basis of the bargain under which the French had paid the gigantic bribe to the English. Only the 10-12,000 British soldiers (of these, the English totaled 3,000 soldiers, or 3.3% of the Allied Army, plus approximately[4] 2,4000 Irish, 4.7%, and 5,000 Scots, 5.8%) were prepared to comply with the order to desertion[5].

Although almost all of the German mercenary troops refused to follow the English in their desertion, it must be acknowledged, in the latter's favor, that they had not played a double game in order to sabotage the Secret Treaty with France. If England had been disloyal to its Allies, it had shown exemplary loyalty to France, lest the latter break its commitments. Ormond had indeed received

[4] *Approximately*, because the numbers vary by a few units depending on the battles, histories, and periods. Many English battalions were simply garrisoned in fortresses in the Flemish Barriere (Belgium) far from the battlefields. Should they have been included in the combat strength? I leave it to the reader to judge. But it is sure that within 1 or 2% the figures are correct.

[5] It is noticeable that the numbers of soldiers vary. In fact, they should be taken only as an indication. These insignificant variations do not change the essence of the problem.

from London the express order to withdraw with him the whole of the troops for fear that the French would not give up Dunkirk[6].

Moreover, it is necessary to examine the strategic consequences of the withdrawal of the British forces from all the battlefields. Was this withdrawal indeed of primary importance? The staffs of the various armies had noted that the English battalions in the strict sense of the word had hardly taken part in the great battles of this war, such as those of Blenheim, Malplaquet, Oudenarde and Ramillies. The English commander-in-chief, the Duke of Marlborough, had, for various reasons, kept these English troops in reserve in the rear or in garrison in the fortresses of the line of defense known as the strategic Barrier. He certainly did so in order to spare English lives and avoid the criticism of such losses. Perhaps he also considered that the fighting ability of his national troops was not the best because of shortcomings in the form of recruitment[7].

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[6] And that's what happened.

[7] In Badajoz, 1812, as in Ciudad Rodrigo, the English troops of Wellington's command burned, looted, pillaged and raped these Spanish towns for three whole days. After three days of lawlessness, Wellington's command had gallows erected for his soldiers to deal with these abuses. When he succeeded in restoring order, it was a look of desolation and shame. Before this, for the first time in public, Wellington's eyes moistened. He then gave a glimpse of the value of the English army when he spoke of the British army against the French during the Napoleonic wars: "A French army is constituted in a very different way from ours. In France, the Conscription appeals to all social classes -your son as well as mine-. Everyone has to go. But our friends (our soldiers) - I can say it in this room (that is, among ourselves) - are the very scum of humanity. It is said that these soldiers enlisted out of patriotism -falsehood- nothing to see. Some of them went into the army to escape from their bastards, others because they had some small crime on their conscience, most of them to drink. One can hardly imagine such an assemblage." Translation: "A French army is composed very differently from ours. The Conscription calls out a share of every class — no matter whether your son or my son — all must march; but our friends — I may say it in this room — are the very scum of the earth. People talk of their enlisting from their fine military feeling — all stuff — no such thing. Some of our men enlist from having got bastard children — some for minor offenses — many more for drinking. You can hardly conceive such a set brought together...." "Quoted in Paul Johnson, The Birth of the Modern World Society 1815-1830, Harper Collins Publishers, New York, 1991; p. 65. Later, when the sacking and raping of Ciudad Rodrigo were forgotten, this cruel comment became offensive to the English military, and Fun of them added a fictitious, honor-saving line, "and it really is wonderful that we should have made them the fine fellows they are." Which would roughly read,

In any case, "it was soon learned in Holland that the particular Commands of the troops of Hanover, Brandenburg[8] and other Foreigners in the pay of England, with the exception of one Battalion, four Squadrons of Holstein, and two Squadrons of the Regiment of Dragoons of Walef (Blaise Henri de Corte, baron de Walef, from the Country of Liège, 1652-1734), had refused to follow the Duke of Ormond, without receiving an order to do so from their Masters[9]. Of a total (including Prussian mercenaries), of 65 battalions of Infantry[10] and 94 squadrons of Cavalry[11] in the full pay of England, the British troops[12] represented only one-fifth, of which the purely English troops corresponded to only one-quarter. In other words, almost all of the mercenary troops would continue the war, at the financial expense of the Allies other than England, if Austria and the United Provinces could find the funds to pay their salaries... or at least if they could continue to make the mercenaries believe that they would one day be paid a portion of their salaries, in the unlikely event that they survived the mortal dangers of battles[13]. It is quite obvious

"And it really is it is wonderful that we made them the good fellows they have become. But such a comment, from a weeping Wellington, is totally implausible after three days of anarchy, while he was watching the gallows intended to punish those same soldiers who had just raped, pillaged and burned this Spanish city supposedly allied with the English.

8 Prussia.

9 Torcy, Tom. III, Part IV, p. 213. Their masters were the Electors who had mobilized them and sold them to a foreign army in order to make a substantial income. This fidelity seems surprising for our 21st century minds, but we must remember that these soldiers were illiterate.

10 About 32,000 infantrymen. If we count 500 combatants per battalion on average, at that time. These figures are taken from a statement of strength signed by the viscount of Bolingbroke himself, quoted by Torcy.

11 Approximately 11,200 horsemen. If Ton counts 120 horses per squadron. Which was an average.

12 Originating from Scotland, Ireland and England.

13 For those who know military circles, leaders are important in masculine and masculine groups such as the troop. A good leader, by playing on strings such as courage, cowardice, betrayal, and virility... will be able to morally force less intelligent men to act against their deepest desires and even to die. The officers knew how to manipulate these natural leaders either by promises of promotions or by money, decorations; "baby's rattles", used to say Napoléon.

that the Allies realized that, militarily speaking, the departure of the English would not cause any great imbalance in the overall numbers and that they would retain numerical superiority over the French. On the other hand, the French King showed for once that he had only a relative confidence in the loyalty of the English, or at least that his confidence wavered at times. In his opinion, the latter were perhaps cheating on their commitments. They had betrayed the Allies, so perhaps there was a chance that they would betray their new ally, France. But the French King was wrong. It was not so, for the bait was too big not to make them virtuous. On the other hand, the French took advantage of the opportunity to use this problem of manpower as a dilatory pretext for delaying the delivery of the city of Dunkirk to the English. In the eyes of Louis XIV, too detached from purely commercial contingencies, this city was really an essential clause, just after the Spanish Throne. Delivering the Acadians to their implacable enemies, who would martyr[14] them, had perhaps less impact –may I be mistaken– on Louis XIV's affections than destroying the magnificent and powerful fortified harbor installations of Dunkirk, a masterpiece of the military art of maritime fortifications. Against the almost total desertion of the German mercenaries from the English Army, the French protested to Queen Anne, threatening to break the secret agreement if the English did not also demobilize them. As a result, a letter from Bolingbroke ordered the Duke of Ormond that "if the foreign troops persisted in abandoning him, [order] was to leave the (allied) army

[14] By an ethnic cleansing called *La Déportation des Acadiens*, a few years later. The Acadians themselves softened the term so as not to offend the sensibilities of the perpetrators by simply naming it: *Le Grand Derangement*.

with the English troops and those who would join the English, and to declare that the Queen would no longer act, nor pay those who would fight against France; that after the egards she had had for the Allies, the treatment she received from them would justify her before God and before men, an left her free to continue the Negotiation, either at Utrecht, or elsewhere, without taking the trouble of the cooperation or refusal of her Allies.

Thus Bolingbroke promised in the name of the Queen of Great Britain, that "if the King of France gave into the hands of this Princess the City, Town, and Fortress of Dunkirk, without being diverted by the separation of the foreign troops paid by England, she would, in this case, make no difficulty in concluding her particular peace, leaving to the other powers a time to submit to the conditions of the plan of which she would be in agreement with the King of France"... "You see (concluded Bollingbroke), that Peace is in the hands of the King of France. If the entire army of the Duke of Ormond consents to the suspension of arms, the first plan we agreed upon will have its effect. If it does not consent, the English troops will separate from those of the Allies, and the foreigners (the German mercenaries) will be able to turn to the States-General for their subsistence, which, far from being able to provide for this new burden, are not in a condition to continue those they already have on their hands. In a word, *Great Britain will withdraw from the theater of war and will leave there only those Powers which are too weak to stand up to France*[15], so that Peace will be able to be concluded

[15] Segment not highlighted in the original text. It should be noted that the Queen had a great esteem in the value of her troops.

between the two crowns in a few weeks. Here, Monsieur, are the proposals which the Queen orders me to make to you, and she believes that the King Très-Chrétien will find as much to his account in them as in the first plan[16]. Faced with so much goodwill, –and without raising the point of vanity which consisted in letting people believe that the allied soldiers without the English troops were *incapable* [17] of defeating the French– the King of France replied that he agreed to let the English troops enter Dunkirk. The courier in charge of transmitting this order to the Maréchal de Villars left immediately on July 5th, 1712, and the one for the Duke of Ormond the next day.

In Holland, on the other hand, and in Austria, the almost complete desertion to the Allies of the German mercenaries from the English army had revived the hope of defeating the French, of humiliating the Sun King and of wresting from him all that they had been able to take away from them up to that point. The Allies, who knew nothing of the *Royal Bribe* promised to the English, could not help hoping –like the father of the Prodigal Son– that England would sooner or later reverse her decision to impose Peace and even change sides, especially if the French, outraged to see that the English fail to recover and neutralize their German mercenaries, did not agree to let them occupy the fortress of Dunkirk. If the Allies had known that Dunkirk was only a small appetizer but that the main course of these sumptuous banquet was the fabulous *Asiento de Negros,* they would have lost all hope. As for

[16] Torcy, Vol. III, Part IV, pp.216-217.

[17] Curiously, this vain prophecy came true, for the English betrayal so broke the morale of the other Allies that they proved unable to defeat the French. Morale, like discipline, is one of the essential strengths of an army.

this banal budgetary insufficiency generated by the departure of the English, it could be filled by a new tax on the little people[18]. All this imbroglio of secret decisions would lead to great confusion, and in the expectation of a political breakthrough, the Duke of Ormond did not dare to make any bellicose movement towards either side. He simply suspended the march of his troops whose mission was to go and occupy the fortress of Dunkirk, for rumors of Allied aggression against the English troops were beginning to gallop across the flat plain of Flanders.

The English Whigs, for their part, did not tire of unleashing their war propaganda in England and among the Allies. They proposed a new Parliament in favor of the war.

How soon? Very soon! The Austrian Count von Sinzendorff was trumpeting to anyone who would listen that the combined armies of the Holy Roman Empire and Holland could effectively sustain the war until an English revolution, which he predicted, overthrew Queen Anne and replaced her with Ludwig von Braunscweig und Lüneburg, Duke of Hanover, who was to inherit the Throne of Anne Stuart of England by virtue of the *Act of Establishment*[19] if the latter died without an heir. This König foresaw a resurgence of war in Europe. This was probably the goal of some people who were zealous for the Hanoverian dynasty's candidacy, judging by the systematic death of **all** Anne Stuart's children[20]. Each newborn child

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[18] Only the little people had to pay, since the Nobility and the Clergy enjoyed total tax exemption.
[19] Voted in England in 1701.
[20] Anne Stuart had 16 children, a daughter died on May 12, 1684, Mary born on June 2, 1685 who lived only one year and 7 months, Anne Sophie born on May 12, 1686 who lived only 8 and a half months, a boy died in January 1687, a son died on October 22, 1687, a son died on April 16, 1688,

of the Stuart Dynasty was methodically suffocated at birth without the knowledge of Queen Anne. It should be noted that the mysterious behaviors followed her since her early childhood, like an evil shadow, since she had been secretly raised in the Protestant religion by her entourage in spite of the will of her father, Catholic monarch of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He must have regretted that he had not paid more attention to his daughter's education. But parents do not realize until it is too late that they have only one chance to raise a child. In any case, as soon as England fell into the hands of the Hanoverian dynasty, the war against France could be resumed with all its initial fury in order to erase the shame of what Prince Eugene and all Europe called a *betrayal* —without even really knowing that it was one. All this political turmoil probably led to the very assassination of Queen Anne in 1714, too late to change the objectives and alliances. Too many political and religious issues were tearing Europe, and England itself, apart. Among the Allies, frustrated by this betrayal, incomprehensible to the other Courts of Europe who did not know the background of the affair, "animosity increased, only as the impotence of satisfying it became apparent[21]." The possible victory of France in this war —if one judged it by the military operations that were going on relentlessly on the North European and Iberian battlefields—, put the whole of Europe into a rage. "It is not

William, Duke of Gloucester born on July 24, 1689 who lived only eleven years, Mary who lived only a few hours on October 14, 1690, George who died only a few hours on April 17, 1692, a daughter died on April 23, 1693, a son died on January 21, 1694, a daughter died on February 18, 1696, a son died on September 20, 1696, a daughter died on March 25, 1697, a son died in December 1697, Charles who died a few hours on September 15, 1698, and a daughter died on January 25, 1700. Anne herself probably did not escape the assassins. It was said that she died shortly afterwards, on August 1, 1714, of gout, which led to an erysipelas. Her body, grotesquely swollen from poisons, was buried in Westminster Abbey in a large, almost square coffin.

[21] Torcy, Vol. III, Part IV, p.220.

impossible to repair, with great economy, the breach which the defection of England makes in the Grande Alliance; But it is cruel that France, after so many disasters in the course of twelve years, should triumph by negotiation, and win the prize and the Honor of a war so glorious for us, sustained with so much expense on our part and so much blood spilled[22]" it was said in Allied circles, after the capture of the Quesnoy fortress and the siege of Landrecy, which diminished the hopes of being able to invade France, plunder this country, as it deserved, and bring it to its knees. To the English plenipotentiaries who suggested that the King of France should try to grant some satisfaction to the Dutch as well, in order to soften them up, the King replied "to wait until this Dutch Republic took the first steps to approach .... it was no longer convenient for his service to seek out a Nation which had become more proud in proportion to the advantages which His Majesty had offered him[23]." It was obvious that his grudge against Holland inspired him only punishments, reprisals and destruction.

In addition to the suspicious deaths of all the Queen Anne's children, the Whigs were not slow to hate political changes. "The domestic enemies persisted in the design of stirring up an uprising in London, and if the project, formed a long time ago, did not succeed, they substituted the hope of succeeding more happily in the secret measures taken with the Court of Vienna and the States-

[22] Ibid., Vol. III, Part IV, p.224.
[23]. Ibid., Vol. III, Part IV, p.227.

General, to put under arrest all the English troops then in garrison in the fortresses of the Netherlands[24].



The English army deserts the battlefields.

In mid-July, Prince Eugène de Savoy, eager to test the loyalty of the English, ordered the Allied army to execute a hostile movement against the French from Le Quesnoy, a fortress which had fallen on July 1st. Seeing that he would be forced to take sides and unmask himself, Ormond then decided to trigger the retreat of the British army, officially announcing that an armistice had been signed with the French. Ormond had written to Villars that he expected to be abandoned by all German mercenary troops under English pay. Indeed, the mercenary generals deserted the English camp on the eve of the withdrawal movement, that is, on July 6th, 1712. Only two German units decided to stay with the English and lay down their arms, in accordance with the French demands. On July 7th, the Maréchal de Villars wrote to a worried Ormond, to reassure him. He told him that Dunkirk would still be delivered to Hill[25]. Ormond's 18,000 men, including 3,000

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[24] Ibid., Vol. III, Part III, p.139. In the Spanish or Catholic Lower-Countries, off course.

[25] Article VI, which spoke of the fate of Dunkirk, specified, with regard to the fortifications, that "His Majesty will consent to have them demolished immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, on condition that he be given a suitable equivalent to his satisfaction, to compensate him for the fortifications of this place. And as England cannot provide this equivalent, the discussion of this matter will be referred to the Conferences which Ton will hold for the negotiation of Peace. [Swift, Book Two I, p. 128] In other words, the Netherlands would have to provide the equivalent.

German mercenaries from Holstein, and Wallis's dragoons, were ordered to desert the battlefield and retreat to the sea.

The English regiments set out to evacuate the war zone, to the jeers and gestures of contempt and hatred of the Allies. All along the way, the retreating English troops, the objects of scornful affronts and depreciative sarcasms from the High Allies, had to swallow their tears of despair and endure this long *Way of the Cross*. Eyes downcast, the Redcoats could *hardly* contain their anger and humiliation. Tears of rage, blasphemy and curses poured out against Queen Anne and the London Merchant Lobbies that were leading English politics for their own selfish gain without regard for the honor of their nation. Some regiments broke their muskets in rage. Sir Winston Churchill wrote about this terrible retreat: "No humiliation was spared to the retreating British troops. Tournai, Mons and other conquered fortresses closed the door in their faces[26], ..." even refusing to put them up for the night[27]. A mutiny involving 3,000 soldiers led the English military authorities to execute 10 men, and discipline was restored[28]. But it was not

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[26] Sir Winston Churchill, Marlborough, sa vie et son époque, see in fine

[27] The English troops would have preferred to bivouac behind the walls of these cities for fear that their former Allies would attack them at night and by surprise, in retaliation for their treason.

[28] The defeat at Denain greatly affected the morale of the Allied troops. Later in the year, a serious mutiny broke out among the English troops in Ghent. The poor quality of the bread was the last straw. A corps of 3,000 English mutineers, armed to the teeth, had to be surrounded by German units and forced to surrender their weapons. The leaders were executed on the spot. Shortly before, a group of 600 well-armed English soldiers carried out a massacre in France that became known as the "Oradour-sur-Glane of the XVIIIe Century". They came upon the French village of Molain, whose inhabitants had barricaded the streets and seized heteroclite tools as weapons. The English soldiers rushed into the village, massacred the peasants, set fire to the church where 400 women and children were burned alive. Then they attacked the rest of the village, looting, raping and burning. Two days later, their general received a complaint from the French authorities, but no punitive measures were taken. "This was a foretaste of what France might have expected [if the Allies had succeeded in their invasion], and I mention the thing to this effect, for the action itself is quite inexcusable," wrote English Captain Robert Parker, *Military Memoirs*, Robert Parker and Earl of Merode-Westerloo, The Marlborough Wars, Edited by David Chandler, Longmans, 1968, pp. 120-

to protest against treason. In fact, these soldiers, like the German mercenary troops, were suffering from considerable delays in their pay, and were afraid of being demobilized without any backpay. They had wanted to take the lead by mutinying. But they did not want to, because, in any case, the coffers were always desperately empty[29]... for them.

According to the Franco-English convention, the British were authorized to occupy the city of Dunkirk as soon as the armistice was officially initialed. To take possession of this city, seven battalions (5,000 men under the command of General Hill) came directly from England by sea, because the English High Command did not dare to let them cross Flanders on foot, where there were rumors of Austrian and Dutch aggression. Indeed, as a reprisal for London's incomprehensible change of political course, the Allies had planned to seize the English troops and massacre them or send them into captivity. One wonders why these 5,000 English soldiers did not also come to reinforce the 2,500 already on the mainland battlefields, instead of remaining safely on their island while their Allies died! The British general-in-chief (Ormond), who had learned "before the armies separated, that certain actions were being planned for the safety of his person, and moreover, for

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121. Parker added: "The soldiers then had nothing to do but their guard duty. And from an elevation in front of our camp they had a very fine view of this rich region of France, which they felt they had earned the right to plunder. They were greatly exasperated by the deception and continually murmured against those who had brought them before this spectacle of the 'Promised Land', as they called it, and in spite of this would not allow them to take the milk and honey that abounded there." And so it was that the soldiery (la sodatesque) granted itself the right to martyr the village of Molain.

[29] The money intended to pay them was, as we have said, largely embezzled, not only by the leaders but also by the German electors, kings, bishops and rulers of the Holy Roman Empire who recruited and hired their mercenary battalions from the English and acted as intermediaries. The paying officers waited for a maximum of soldiers to be on the street in order to pay the survivors, who were always several months behind in their salaries. Moreover, England was now refusing to pay, which did not help the soldiers.

that of the Corps of Englishmen who were under his command[30]," had carefully kept his retreat itinerary secret for the sake of his troops' safety. On July 19th, the seven English battalions coming from England were admitted to Dunkirk.

In the rest of Flanders, the retreat of the British troops continued in spite of Allied protests. The Dutch and Walloon governors of the fortresses of Bouchain, Douai, Lille and Tournay refused to allow them to enter for overnight bivouac. The English troops had to bypass the fortress-towns[31] through the fields. They occupied Ghent — already in the hands of a small English garrison of 500 men entrenched in the citadel— and Bruges, in which they succeeded in introducing a garrison also. Remaining in control of all these fortresses could, for the English, become a strategic means of pressure on the Dutch and the Imperials, in order to force them to accept Peace with the French.

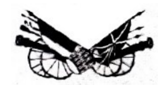
When the news reached England that the French had indeed kept their promise to deliver Dunkirk despite the fact that the English had been unable to keep theirs[32], the Londoners believed, or pretended to believe[33], that it was a French ruse; how was-it possible that the French agreed to do their part when the English had not done theirs? For the French were no longer bound to deliver Dunkirk. Even if, under the angle of the Grand Alliance, the departure of the British army was not a decisive loss

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[30] Swift, Book IV, p.356.
[31] Ibidem, Book IV, p.355.
[32] Because of the desertion of the German mercenaries from English army.
[33] The Whigs especially questioned the cooperation of the French just in order to castigate the pacifism of the Tories

for the Allies, which still retained numerical superiority over the French, the blow to the morale of the Allies was harsh, and even, one can affirm in retrospect, fatal.

As a result, the Utrecht negotiations were interrupted for a few weeks, after the surrender of Dunkirk, which had been the outcome, the consequence of the armistice and of the British desertion. But in this politico-military imbroglio, the official Renunciations of the Spanish Bourbons to the French Crown were still missing.



The Renunciations

The Queen Anne of Great Britain considered that a perpetual separation between the crowns of France and Spain could only result from a definitive disclaimer (or waiver) of Philippe V to his rights on the Throne of France. Torcy, in a Memorandum transmitted in the name of the King of France to the British Minister, the Earl of Oxford, on March 18th, 1712, asserted that: "France can never consent to become a province of Spain, and Spain will think the same of France. It is indeed a question of taking solid measures to prevent the union of the two monarchies. But we would be absolutely deviating from the goal that one proposes... if we were to contravene the fundamental laws of the Kingdom. According to these laws, the Prince closest to the Crown is the necessary heir... he succeeds, not as

an heir, but as the Master of the Kingdom whose *seigneuries* belongs to him, not by choice, but by the sole right of his birth. He is not indebted for the Crown to the will of his predecessor, nor to any edict, nor to any decree, nor to anyone's liberality, but to the Law. *This Law is regarded as the Work of Him who established all monarchies*[34], and we are convinced, in France, *that God alone can abolish it*. No Renunciation can destroy it, and if the King of Spain were to give his waiver, for the sake of Peace and out of obedience to the King of France, his grandfather, we would be mistaken in receiving it as an expedient sufficient to prevent the evil that one is trying to avoid. In order to demonstrate that a dynasty or a monarchy is of divine essence, and that, therefore, "no human renunciation can destroy it", one must either ignore, —or pretend to ignore—, how these dynasties were born. How many crimes have been perpetrated to establish the dynasty by removing the leaders and the ambitious? It is necessary to remember that the oldest European Nobility came from the imperial civil servants of Charlemagne, who have entrenched themselves in their administrative positions and have bequeathed their position to their children. The aphorism which states that Power, Nobility and Monarchy are of *Divine Right,* has always been a subterfuge, invented by the Nobility, to prevent the people from rising up against the established order that this Privileged Class had imposed in its own favor. A people has never been better led than by the spiritual chains, the invisible bonds of religion, carefully hidden in the head and in the heart, which direct the thoughts and acts under the threat of eternal flames.

[34] Segments not highlighted in the original text.

That is why the Clergy and the Nobility of Europe, the two great profiteers of this unjust feudal system of odious privileges, have always acted in concert, supporting each other. The clergyman justified the divine right of the Nobility, which, for its part, granted him physical and material protection, as well as opulence.

In any case, and trying to ignore all these pitiful considerations about the almost mafia-like organization of European society under the Ancien Régime, the House of Lords agreed with this point of view, considering, in a motion addressed to Queen Anne that the Duke d'Anjou could not be deprived of a benefit which "had been given to him by the Right of his Birth, and which, with the consent of the French people, should remain inviolable, in accordance with the fundamental Law of the Kingdom." With these last words, Torcy himself denounced what he perceived as an illusion: the definitive separation of the two crowns could not be guaranteed by a simple Renunciation, even if the King of Spain was forced to do so by his grandfather. This chimera would lead to even greater perils. But Torcy[35] did not hear. The British had misunderstood the functions and powers of the Parliament of Paris. They thought that they were the same as those of the Parliament of Westminster, which had the power to legislate. However, the Parliament of Paris, although it was chronologically the first of all parliaments, did not have at that time the initiative of the laws. It was above all a Court, in charge of registering the different Royal Decrees. This procedure

[35] Colbert , Jean-Baptiste (marquis de Torcy), *Memoires de Monsieur de Torcy, pour servir a l'histoire des négotiations depuis le traite de Rysuryck* [Ryswick] *jusqu'à la Paix d'Utrecht*, Nourse & Vaillant , Printer, London, 1757. 3 vol.

gave them the force of law. This is why the simple registration of a royal decree could not modify such a fundamental constitutional element as the Rights of Succession to the Throne, contrary to what was allowed by the legal system in Great Britain where the English Parliament had been able to enact the abdication of James II in 1689, or to establish in 1701 the rule of a protesting succession by the Act of Settlement; although it is certain that in all these events, which had as their underlying motivation the ever-present religion, an English member of Parliament who dared to vote against the establishment of an Anglican or Protestant regime in England would not have failed to bite his fingers off.

On July 8th, the King of Spain finally signed the decree by which he renounced the double Crown. "Be it known and manifest to the Kings, Princes, Potentates, Republics, Communities and particular persons who are and who will be in the centuries to come that one of the principal foundations of the treaties of Peace to be made between the Crown of Spain and that of France on the one hand, and that of England on the other, in order to come to a General Peace, is to assure for all time the universal good and the repose of Europe and to establish an equilibrium between the Powers, *so that it cannot happen that several of them being united in one*. It was agreed on my part and that of the King my grandfather, that to avoid in any time, the union of this Monarchy with that of France, and to prevent that it cannot happen in any case, it was made reciprocal Renunciations... so that one avoids, in all the imaginable cases, the union of the monarchy of Spain with that of France... I have resolved, in consequence of what is

above exposed, by the love I have for the Spaniards, by the knowledge I have of what I owe to them, by the frequent experiences I have made of their fidelity, and to give thanks to divine Providence, to abdicate for myself and for all my descendants the right to succeed to the Crown of France, desiring to live and die with my beloved and faithful Spaniards…"

"I have decided to renounce the right of all my descendants to the right of the King of Castile and Leon, etc., etc., so that this deliberation may have the effect it should have, and in order to put an end to what has been considered one of the main motives for the war that has so far afflicted Europe. Of my own accord, of my free, clear and pure will, I, Don Philip, by the grace of God, King of Castile and Leon, etc., etc., renounce by the present act for ever and ever, for myself and for my heirs and successors, all claims, rights and titles, which I or any of my descendants have at present, or may have at any time in the future, to the succession of the Crown of France. I abandon and desist from them, for myself and for them, and I declare and hold myself excluded and separated, me and my children, heirs and descendants, perpetually, from the right to succeed to the Crown of France. I want and consent, for myself and for my descendants, that, from now on as well as then, this right be kept and considered as passed and transferred to the Duke of Berry, my brother, to his children and male descendants, born in legitimate marriage. And, in the absence of his male lines, to the Duke d'Orléans, my uncle, and to his children and male descendants, born in legitimate marriage, and, in the absence of his lines, to my cousin, the Duke of Bourbon, and to his

children and male descendants, born in legitimate marriage, and successively to all the princes of the blood of France, their children and male descendants, for ever and ever, according to the rank and order, in which they will be called to the Crown by the right of their birth. I deprive myself and desist, specifically, of the rights that could belong to me, by the *Letters Patent*, or acts by which the King, my grandfather, preserves for me the Right of Succession to the Crown of France. The said Letters Patent were given at Versailles, in the month of December of the year 1700 and registered at the Parliament. I do not want them to serve me as a basis for the effects which are provided for therein. I reject them and renounce them, and consider them as null and void, as if they had never been given. I promise and bind myself in faith and word of the King, that, on my part and that of my children and descendants, born and unborn, I will procure the observance and fulfillment of this Act, without allowing or consenting to any direct contravention thereof, in whole or in part."

Through these texts, one senses the neurotic paranoia of the jurists and jurisconsults called in as reinforcements who had given themselves the mission of foreseeing any trickery on the part of the devious French. Other texts of renunciations can be consulted further on, in the appendix, in the chapter reporting the clauses of the Treaty of Utrecht itself.

The fighting ceased definitively in 1713, after a military campaign in Germany, victorious for the French. The Allies, demoralized, seemed to lack the heart to fight. They realized that they had been cheated by the English,

who had hardly shed any blood, but only paid wages and expenses.

The Dossier des Ursins,
last stumbling block before Peace

Finally, Peace was in sight for the exhausted soldiers. They must have contemplated this Peace with the exultation of the soldiers of Cyrus seeing the Black Sea[36]: *Thalassa ! Θάλασσα !... Eiréné !... Peace !...* This Peace was finally going to allow the Europeans to demobilize and to send the unfortunate survivors back to their homes, provided with a part of their pay, at least, and lulled by the quickly disappointed hope of recovering a few extra crumbs that had fallen from the table of their generals. But they were doubly mistaken. Not only would their paychecks stay in the pockets of the Duke of Marlborough, but Peace was not just around the corner because another Aristocrat —a Noble woman this time— would block the peace process out of greed. And all those soldier-hostages would continue to die needlessly to satisfy her. Before discussing the last obstacle that hindered the end of the Spanish Succession War and its final settlement, it is worthwhile to give an overview of the Spanish Court, the main theater of the imbroglio that delayed for several months the advancement of this dear Peace. For Peace –like health and love– has the peculiarity of being appreciated at its true and inestimable value, only when it has been lost.

[36] The sea! The sea!... Peace! Peace! could have shouted the soldiers of the War of the Spanish Succession.

In order to observe and understand the functioning of this Court that evolved in the royal palace of the Alcazar in Madrid[37], what could be more eloquent than the texts of the French diplomats whose occupation was precisely to spy on the workings of the Court, and then to write reports to the French Services of Foreign Affairs, which also managed the espionage.

In this text, written in 1711, the situation[38] of the Spanish Court is sketched out from ruthlessness. The King of Spain is presented with some irony as a sovereign badly informed on the situation generated by the war, and little inclined to consult his Spanish subjects themselves: "The King of Spain,... would not... perhaps disguise the true State of his affairs, *if this Prince knew them thoroughly*[39]. But it is to be feared that he is himself the first to be deceived. He has believed too easily... that he owes the return of his happiness to his firmness. The excess of confidence seems to him a virtue and these flattering ideas are all the more difficult to destroy in his mind that he is obstinate in his feelings, so that if, unhappily, he takes the wrong path,

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[37] The current Royal Palace of Madrid (Palacio Real de Madrid) or Palacio de Oriente, official residence of the King of Spain, is located in the Plaza de Oriente in the heart of Madrid. The palace was built between 1738 and 1755 by Philip V on the site of the old Alcazar Real and was destroyed by fire in 1734. The events we describe took place in the Royal Palace of the Alcazar. L'alcázar (pronounced [alˈkaθaɾ]) derives from the Arabic word القصر al-qaṣr "**the fort, castle, or palace**"., which in turn derives from the latin word Castrum ("fortress", "military camp")

[38] Note from the King to Monsieur Jean Louis D'Usson, marquis de Bonnac, ambassadeur de France en Espagne de 1711 à 1713. in Correspondance d'Espagne, tome 223, fol. 15-26, in Commission des Archives Diplomatiques au Ministere des Affaires Etrangères, Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France depuis les Traités de Westphalie jusqu'à la Révolution française, XII Espagne, avec une introduction et des notes par A. Morel-Fatio et H. Leonardon, Tome deuxieme (1701-1722) Ancienne Librairie Germer Bailliere et C le , Felix Alcan, Editeur, Paris, 1898.

[39] Segment not highlighted in the original text.

it will not be easy to make him know his error, when he has begun to let himself be drawn into it."

In addition to his obstinacy in error, the King's influenceable character makes him the plaything of his wife who is: "equally capable of leading him along a road in accordance with her interests, of diverting him... and when her talents are well employed[40], as it seems she intends to do[41], the King of Spain will be happy to be led by her, since, from the nature of the situation he is in, it seems necessary that someone should govern him[42]."

Now it happens that if the "King Catholic" is subjected to the influence of his wife, this one is totally subjugated by the Princess des Ursins, who, consequently, truly directs the destinies of Spain. This woman has the power to make and unmake the careers of the Spanish and foreign Nobility: "The Princesse des Ursins seems to possess until now the entire confidence of the King and Queen of Spain... [and it is necessary to underline] the eagerness of the Spaniards to turn to her to obtain graces from the King their Master." As for Political Affairs, decisions are taken in a restricted committee; and this committee is constituted by the King, who is directly under the influence of his wife, who makes decisions totally inspired by the Princesse des Ursins. The Spaniards "know that this Prince deliberates and takes his decisions on his principal affairs between the Queen and herself, that this Conseil Interieur

[40] The talents of his wife the Queen. The irony of the phrase "as it seems she intends" suggests that the Queen has not yet shown any intention of using her talent well.
[41] Segment not highlighted in the original text.
[42] Segment not highlighted in the original text. Similarly, President Ronald Reagan of the USA acted (politically) only with the consent of his wife Nancy, who made all his decisions after consulting a fortune teller who might have been under Soviet control.

governs the fate of the State, that the others are only for form, and that one must consider as having a part in the government only those whom the Princesse des Ursins wants to call to her consultations[43]..."

The importance of the Princesse des Ursins in the Alcazar Palace was essential. The head of the French Diplomacy and of the Espionage Service, Monsieur de Torcy, the same one who directed the secret negotiations between France and England at that time, advised the French ambassador in Madrid to show "an extreme deference for the Princesse des Ursins. He must not consider as incompatible things to please her and to seek sure ways to penetrate the truth. It is necessary that the Princesse des Ursins helps him, if he wants to succeed in the execution of the orders that His Majesty will give him[44]...". It was quite clear and unmistakable.

Thanks to this princess and to several other equally important factors, the Spanish Royal Court was at that time entirely in French hands. This memoir[45], also written for M. de Bonnac on the ubiquitous functioning of the Spanish Court under its first Bourbon, shows clearly that the Princesse des Ursins was, at the Court of the Alcazar in Madrid, the *obligatory passage to obtain royal favors*, like Rasputin in St. Petersburg two centuries later, the Duchess of Marlborough at the beginning of the same war at the English Court, and Madame de Pompadour at Versailles thirty years later. It is also noted with sadness that

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[43] Like Rasputin, two centuries later.
[44] Correspondence from Spain, volume 223, folio 15-26. P. 209.
[45] From : Memoire concemant I 'Etat present de la cour d'Espagne [Correspondance d'Espagne, tome 223, folio 15-26]

the Spaniards did not hold the places which were theirs at the Spanish Court. "This Court[46] is composed like all the others of two kinds of people, namely of courtiers and ministers... There is not a single courtier or minister who can boast of having complete confidence in his masters... Mme la Princesse des Ursins... [as long] as she is in Spain, there will be only one method for handling the affairs of which one will be in charge: it is to address her and to gain her confidence[47]." Thus the Spaniards acquired a King but failed to conquer the positions that were theirs in the upper hierarchy of their Civil Service.

In the same way, two years later, when the Duke of Hanover came to take possession of the English Throne, he was followed by his entire German staff, including advisers, because he did not speak English at all and only wanted to express himself in French or German. Besides, he lived most of the time in Hanover rather than in London, where he was an exiled foreigner.

In Spain, the Cabinet Council, or Despacho, was an assembly where the main lines of Spanish policy were worked out. The King of Spain himself attended the Cabinet Council every day, at least when he was not distracted by a hunting party. But, notes Torcy, "only matters of little importance were discussed in this Council, and when others were dealt with, it was only after they had been decided in particular [by the Princesse des Ursins], and only to have them approved." Moreover, when matters are considered of little importance and are therefore neglected by the

[46] Letter from Bonnac to Torcy, Madrid, 7 août 1713; in Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France depuis les Traités de Westphalie jusqu à la Révolution française.
[47] Segment not highlighted in the original version.

trio director[48], "one just decide in this Council to which of the other Councils they may be related, to ask for their sentiment, to which the Conseil de Cabinet almost always conforms itself."

But, of course, this method caused delays. Because of these delays, which made the negotiations of Utrecht drag on so long, Torcy judged this Court negatively, he who was used to the excessive centralization of the French Administration, at the head of which the King decided with a single word, a gesture, a single frown. It is quite obvious that, for this French ambassador accustomed to the absolute authoritarianism of Louis XIV, all these committees and subcommittees, more or less democratic in essence before their time, charged with giving at least one single opinion, were mainly a useless waste of time. "This method is the cause of all the delays which one has to suffer in the affairs which are treated in Spain, because the King and his Secretaries of State lose sight of them, and each particular Councils are very slow in giving their opinions. It often happens even that the members who compose them do not agree in the same sentiment; each one forms his opinion separately, which it is necessary to examine, which makes lose again much time[49]. It was inadmissible according to the spirit of the marquis de Torcy. As far as the interest of France was concerned, there was no question of prevaricating: the interest of France remained paramount. In the event of a conflict of interest between France and Spain, "he who will be in charge of the French King's Affairs, with the Spanish King his grandson, must

[48] The trio made up of the Princesse des Ursins, the King and the Queen of Spain.
[49] Morel-Fatio, pp.232-234

always have in view the good of the Kingdom[50] rather than that of Spain[51].

But all these interferences of the French in the Spanish Affairs, did not fail to create much irritation and even the resistance of the Spanish people, so proud as it is well-known, was legitimate, certainly, and undoubtedly maintained underhand by the Spanish courtiers humiliated by the presence of all these foreigners who ruled their country according to their good pleasure. As a result, the Spanish Court and the intelligentzia felt a certain regret for the time when the Habsburgs used to rule their country: "Many, in quite large numbers, still attached to the House of Austria, believed that the splitting of interests and influence among the French (at the Spanish Court) incited the Spaniards[52] to regret the Absburgs[53]... The cause of the disorders was attributed to the French, and the complaints which the conduct of some excited individuals, made forget the excessive expenses in which the King was engaged to preserve the States dependent on the Monarchy of Spain[54].

As the defense of Spain was in the hands of the French and the first years of the war had been favorable, when the French dominated the battlefields, the opponents and the nostalgics of Austria had been discreet. But under

[50] of France.
[51] Mémoire concernant l'État présent de la Cour d'Espagne, in Correspondance d'Espagne, tome 223, folio 15-26. P.209.
[52] The divisions between the French who advised the King of Spain, in particular, on the one hand, the Princess des Ursins, very jealous of her authority, who remained in Spain during almost all the War of the Spanish Succession, and also, the French ambassadors charged by Louis XIV to influence the policy of Philip V, King of Spain.
[53] The second candidate for the Spanish Throne.
[54] Morel-Fatio, pp. 232-234.

the effect of the defeats, they raised their heads and intensified their opposition against France: "The boldness and the number of the malcontents increased in this Kingdom, when the events of the war became unfortunate. Finally, Spain contributed nothing to her own defense, while France was exhausting herself for it, and without getting any use out of it[55]..."

This infiltration of the French in Spanish affairs, even in the Council of Ministers, had a reason: France supported the whole defense; "And as all the weight of the war[56]... fell uniquely on France, the King of France felt the need to allow that his *ambassador always attended the Councils of the Spanish King his grandson, and that he became even his Prime Minister*[57]*...*"

And yet the French Court resisted invading the Spanish Court and substituting itself for Felipe V de Burbon against his will; on the contrary: "The King [of France] had no other intention than to leave to the Spaniards the care of governing these states according to their traditions and their ancient customs, consenting only to give his advice when the King of Spain asked him for it. But this moderation did not suit the desires of the Spanish Nation[58]" Is there not more blind than the one who does not want to see?

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[55] Ibid, pp. 232-234. Although it was of no use to her, Louis XIV had hoped to annex Spain and its Empire, at least at the beginning of the war.
[56] His Majesty Louis XIV.
[57] Morel-Fatio, pp. 232-234. Segment not highlighted in the original version.
[58] Missions of the French ambassador at the Spanish Court. Morel-Fatio, pp. 232-234.



It was at the beginning of 1713, at the very moment when the end of the tunnel appeared on the horizon of the Peace, that an unexpected problem arose before the international negotiators, the *Dossier des Ursins*. The French Princesse des Ursins, the favorite of the Queen of Spain, demanded that some territories in the Spanish Netherlands be detached in her favor. She wanted to take advantage of the friendship of the Queen of Spain to build up a personal patrimony of family "estates" in the archaic French sense, which has been preserved only in the English language[59]. If the Duchess of Marlborough, favorite of the Queen of England, had disturbed the beginning of this War of the Spanish Succession, the Princesse des Ursins, favorite of the Queen of Spain, was going to delay the War so that many soldiers died by her fault. Mme des Ursins —who had Frenchified her Italian married name Orsini[60]— had therefore decided to have an independent principality in Flanders[61]. The whole of these Flemish provinces called

[59] The French expression *real estate* (état royal) which has survived in this form only in English, and in French in the expression: "il retourna dans ses états."

[60] One of the descendants of this Italian aristocratic family, Teobaldus Orsus Felice Orsini, attempted to assassinate Napoleon III in Paris on January 1st, 1858.

[61] Marie-Anne de La Tremoille, Princess des Ursins, (1642-1722). She was married at the age of fifteen (1657) to the prince of Chalais, Adrien-Blaise de Talleyrand (the diplomat's grandfather). Chalais, compromised in one of the duels of the time, fled to Spain, stayed there for three years, then went to Rome, but died during the trip. His wife, soon remarried in 1675 to a great Italian lord, Flavio degli Orsini. In 1698, the Duke of Bracciano died, leaving her a considerable fortune. She took the title of princesse des Ursins and obtained a pension from Louis XIV. Thanks to intrigues of extreme finesse, she obtained the title of Camerera Mayor of the Queen of Spain, when the Duke of Anjou was called to the succession of Spain. The weakness of Philip V, governed by the Queen, and the fascination taken on this one by the Princesse des Ursins made that it was her who governed Spain in this so difficult moment where the foreign war was complicated of a civil war, in the middle of the intrigues of palace. She was called to Paris, following a denunciation by the cardinal d'Estrées, who had surprised her with a certain d'Aubigny, whom she was lodging near her in the palace. She

the Spanish Netherlands[62] was, according to the stipulations of the Allies, destined to be granted to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Dutch who preferred that this region —at that time Flemish but today Walloon— become Austrian rather than French for security reasons, and they were only willing to officially promise their good offices, their benevolent mediation to the Emperor so that he would agree to proceed to the cession of this principality. Negotiations stagnated again while waiting for the answer of the sovereigns involved concerning the demands of the Princesse des Ursins. In the age of hordes of tourists and above all of the Internet, it is difficult to imagine with precision the time needed to obtain an answer from Vienna, Paris, London and Madrid through muddy and winding roads. Queen Anne of England was impatient, continually taunted by the London Merchant Lobbies who feared losing the benefits of an instant Peace with the French. The latter were in danger of changing their minds about granting their Royal Bribe.

In the complex environment of the Spanish Court this seemingly minor problem developed, but it completely blocked the mechanism of Peace and hindered the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. Its insignificance made Louis XIV say that "there is reason to be surprised that Peace should be suspended by such

then returned to Madrid, with the blessing of Mme de Maintenon, and showed, during the years of crisis that followed, the genius of a statesman.

[62] Or *Catholic Netherlands* and which will be called the Austrian Netherlands from 1714, when this region, which corresponds to the current Belgium, will be given to Austria, i.e. to the Holy Roman Empire as compensation.

insignificant difficulties as those which still stop it[63]". This was the grain of sand in the mechanism of the negotiations.

On April 11th, 1713, in fact, the first signatures were already affixed to the parchments of the famous Treaty of Utrecht, drawn up in Latin with a copy in the national language of the belligerent countries, while the negotiations themselves were conducted in French. Abruptly, the plenipotentiaries of all Nations were interrupted in extremis because the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire refused to grant the Princesse des Ursins a small territory the size of the County of Rivière-du-Loup in Qu[64], which she wished to be granted by the King of Spain in the Spanish Netherlands, also called Catholic Netherlands. Unfortunately, these famous Spanish Netherlands became Austrian by virtue of the Treaty of Utrecht. So it was no longer the King of Spain who had to be approached but the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire who was also Archduke of Austria. Under the impulse of the Princesse des Ursins, the King of Spain exercised a kind of blocking, a kind of blackmail to the signature for Peace, so that the Emperor was forced to give in. But it happened that this same Emperor was the great loser of this War of the Spanish Succession. First of all, it was he himself –under the

[63] Du Mont, Corps diplomatique, t.8, part I, pages 393, 401 and 427]. The treaty of Peace between Philip V of Spain and Victor-Amedeo of Savoy was signed in Utrecht on August 13th, 1713. The peace treaty between Philip V and Queen Anne of England, signed in Utrecht from July 2nd to 13th, 1713, was ratified from July 31st to August 12th by the Queen of England. On the other hand, because of the egoism of the Princesse des Ursins, the Treaty of Peace and Trade between Spain and the Republic of Holland was signed in Utrecht only on June 26th, 1714.

[64]ébec

Québec counties are now organized into MRCs or Regional County Municipalities. The regional municipality of Rivière-du-Loup is made up of 13 municipalities that cover a territory of 1268 km^2 . There are approximately 35,000 residents. The city of Paris, with its 105km^2 would contain 12 times in the county of Riviere-du-Loup. And if this county had the same population density as the city of Paris, it would have 26.4 million inhabitants.

name of Charles III of Spain– who had been, in vain, the unfortunate competitor of Philippe of France, Duke d'Anjou. His coronation in 1711 as Charles VI of Habsburg, Emperor of the Romans, had not consoled him for his defeat in Spain, but he was still ulcerated by the fact that, under his inglorious reign, the House of Habsburg had definitively lost the Spanish Empire, which had been the most beautiful jewel in its Imperial Crown. The inconsolable Habsburgs retained the title of *King of all Spains* until their abdication[65] in 1918, after the First World War. In the same way, the Kings of England, also grieving over the loss of the Hundred Years' War, had, until 1802, carried in their royal pedigree the title of King of France; for 350 long years! Ironically, Queen Anne and Louis XIV were both Sovereigns of France! This shows the depth of their regrets and frustration! The Emperor of the Holy Empire, who was a saint in name only, would have liked to continue the war until the death of the last Prussian mercenary in order to crush this Louis XIV whom he hated with all his heart, hoping that sooner or later the Queen of England, would have the good idea to rejoin her celestial throne to leave her place to the Hanover-Brunswick Dynasty. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire did not want to halt the peace process by granting the Princess des Ursins a piece of his own territory, he who would rather have

[65] The motto of the Habsburgs of Austria was "Alles Erdreich ist Osterreich untertan" in German and "Austriae est imperare orbi universo" in Latin. It is written in abbreviation A.E.I.O.U. It means "It belongs to Austria to rule the whole Universe" and shows the ambition of this family, as presumptuous as the one of the IIIrd Reich, which was supposed to last 1000 years. Moreover, as we have seen in this book, the Spanish branch of the Habsburgs died out in 1700, triggering the War of the Spanish Succession; the Austrian branch disappeared in 1740, causing the War of the Austrian Succession. The Habsburg-Lorraine branch died in 1918 after the outbreak of the First World War.

wished for the continuation of the war until the victory, or the final collapse... of France, of course!

But who was this famous princess des Ursins who appeared on the international diplomatic scene like a spring-loaded puppet out of a surprise box, when no one was expecting her? Madame des Ursins was an adventurous woman of high character and class, 70 years old in 1712, who had succeeded in becoming the intimate friend of the wife of the Duke d'Anjou. However, when the Duke became King of Spain, the Princess had naturally taken the title and the function of *favorite of the Queen of Spain*. Philippe d'Anjou being very submissive to his wife, it was enough to be in the intimacy of the Queen to manipulate the Fate of Spain to his liking. The marquis of Brancas[66] was at that time one of the representatives of the Kingdom of France in Spain[67]. His mission was detailed in four royal letters[68]. In short, these letters ordered him to help hasten the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht by Spain. In each letter addressed to the French ambassador, one could feel Louis XIV's irritation with his grandson's attitude on this point growing. He felt that he was a docile slave of the Princesse des Ursins, who, in order to obtain her title to the property, did not hesitate to prolong the massacres of war. In the last

[66] Brancas had been governor of Girona from February 12th, 1711 to 1713. The way in which he had supported for eight months the blockade put in front of this place in 1712, had earned him, on January 13th, 1713, the collar of the Golden Fleece. Born in 1692, he had only served in the military career. Louis de Brancas, from the family of the counts of Forcalquier, marquis of Cereste, called the marquis of Brancas, had entered the musketeers in 1689. In 1692, he joined the Royal Navy, and seven years later, he returned to the Army. In June 1702 he was made a brigadier for his good conduct at the siege of Kaiserswerth, and was sent to Spain where he participated in the sieges of Gibraltar and Barcelona. In 1707, he fought on the border of Portugal; in 1708, he commanded a flying camp in Estremadura [Gazette de France, p. 187, from Madrid, April 3rd, 1708]. Successively created commander of the Order of St. Louis and lieutenant general, he was serving in the Armée du Roussillon, when he was entrusted with the guard of Girona.

[67] From June 15th 1713 to 1714.

[68] Letters of August 28th, September 24th, October 9th and 19th, 1713.

meeting, the King of France ordered vehemently and even in a threatening tone, that the Princesse des Ursins should be satisfied with the County of Chiny[69], failing which she wouldn't have anything at all. Brancas tried, from the first[70] of November 1713, to make the Princesse and the King of Spain give up, and to exhort them to abandon the guarantee that Philip V demanded for the principality of Madame des Ursins[71]. Not only did Brancas not succeed, but "it was enough to attract hatred from the *Camarera Mayor* who demanded the possession of this territory with all the force of his unscrupulous ambition. She had gained enough influence over the King that he risked compromising the Peace for the sole purpose of pleasing her[72]. This French representative [Brancas] thus lost the confidence of the Court of Madrid because of his opposition on the demands of the Princesse des Ursins. As a result, he found himself kept apart from the Princesse and even from Orry[73]. His position in Madrid soon became intolerable. He was not even allowed to see the Queen, who was dying of cancer. She breathed her last on February 14th, 1714,

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[69] Chiny is today a small town in the Belgian part of Luxembourg, with two or three thousand inhabitants. The count of Chiny was extensive and had as main cities, besides Chiny its capital, Herbemont, Neufchatel, Virton, Marville in part, Montmedy, Orval, Yvoi and Orchemont. The County of Chiny had been sold in 1364 to Wenceslas, first Duke of Luxembourg.

[70] He took office on October 27th.

[71] Correspondance d'Espagne, t. CCXXIV, fol. 2 (Dépêche de Brancas a Louis XIV, Madrid, 1er novembre 1713).

[72] Morel-Fatio, A., et Léonardon, H., dans l'Introduction du Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France depuis les Traités de Westphalie jusqu 'à la Révolution française, XII Espagne, tome deuxième (1701-1722), édité par la Commission des Archives Diplomatiques au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Ancienne Librairie Germer Bailliere et C' e , Felix Alcan, Éditeur, Paris, 1898. page 231.

[73] Saint-Simon, Mémoires, édition de Boislisle, tome X, pages 389 to 391. Jean Orry, seigneur de Vigno- ry, born in Paris at the beginning of September 1652, died on September 29th, 1719. His reputation as a financier made him go to Spain in June 1701, to see the state of the finances. From 1701 until 1715, the year he returned to France, he stayed almost constantly in Spain, except on rare occasions, such as when the momentary disgrace of Madame des Ursins led to his own. Towards the end of his stay, Philip had given him the General Superintendence of the Spanish troops and the title of veedor.

and the King was then entirely handed over to the expert hands of Madame des Ursins. Knowing that she was forty years older than the King-Catholic[74], one can believe that she possessed unusual virtues, of those, not very Catholic, we would say, that influential men find difficult to resist.

The Marquis de Brancas asked to be recalled to France and left in March 1714. The Spanish Court maliciously accused him of "wanting to stir up the Spaniards against the King, their Master, and of having made speeches very insulting to His Catholic Majesty[75]. But let us go back a few months: The first letter of Louis XIV, which served as an instruction to the Marquis de Brancas, French ambassador to Spain, was dated August 28th, 1713, at Marly-le-Roi[76]. It stated that the Ursins' problem had to be dealt with urgently because the soldiers were dying. The second letter[77] from Louis XIV developed the problem of the Ursins' Files. "The plenipotentiaries of this Crown hope that all the difficulties[78] will be settled incessantly, but the one that concerns the sovereignty of the Princesse des Ursins is not yet settled. It had been proposed to establish her sovereignty on the County of Chiny. The Elector of Bavaria, who owns it now[79]... had, however, represented in Madrid the prejudice that this

[74] 72 year old and 31 year old.

[75] Letter from Pachau to Torcy, Madrid, April 16th 1714.

[76] Recueil des Instructions donnees aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France depuis les Traites de Westphalie jusqu'a la Revolution francaise, XII Espagne, avec une introduction et des notes par A. Morel-Fatio et H. Leonardon, tome deuxieme (1701-1722), (Publie par la Commission des Archives Diplomatiques au Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres), Ancienne Librairie germer Bailliere et Cie , Felix Alcan, Editeur, Paris, 1898; pages 229.

[77] Written at Fontainebleau, on September 24th, 1713.

[78] Related to the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht.

[79] This region [the Catholic Netherlands] had been given to him by Spain at the request of France to compensate him for the confiscation of the Bavaria at the beginning of the war. Finally, the Elector got his Bavaria back and the Netherlands became Austrian.

disposition would cause him. As the Princesse des Ursins believed, herself, that this land would not be large enough to form an independent Sovereignty, orders were sent to the plenipotentiaries of Spain to ask for an area elsewhere, and these orders arrived at the precise time that the Treaty of Utrecht seemed in a condition to be signed (fulfilled)[80]." The Elector of Bavaria, who did not yet know whether he would recover his beloved Bavaria, called "*hereditary*", did not want to consent to cede immediately the County of Chiny . He proposed to wait for Peace to give the principality back to the Princesse des Ursins, and that in the meantime, she would enjoy the sovereignty of the lands of Binche[81] and Mariemont, which she would give back to its original owner when the principality of Chiny would be given back into her hands. Everyone was waiting for the answers of the Spanish Court to these proposals of the Elector. This file was the only one that delayed the Peace between Spain and the United Provinces, that is to say, the General Peace. "There was reason to believe [continued the King of France in his second letter] before the marquis of Monteleon[82] had gone to Holland to try to speed up the negotiations, that Spain and England could make secret connections with each other for the sake of trade... [but]

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[80] Morel-Fatio.

[81] Binche is located in the province of Hainaut (Belgium). Mariemont-Saint-Arthur is a hamlet in the province of Hainaut, Belgium, located, like Binche, between Mons and Charleroi.

[82] Don Isidoro Casado, Marquis of Monteleon, was the third Spanish plenipotentiary in the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Utrecht. From 1705 to 1711 he had served as the Spanish envoy in Genoa, and towards the end of 171 1 he was appointed to the negotiations at Utrecht. He was in Paris when Philip V gave him the order to go to England, and, although he did not have the title of ambassador, he was received there with solemnity and presented to Queen Anne on December 25th, 1712. That same year his son was arrested in France, in Poitiers, carrying compromising papers of the prince of Cellamare. In 1722, in view of the negotiations to be pursued in favor of the infant Don Carlos, the marquis of Monteleon received the title of extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador to Italy, with the mission to go beforehand to London and Paris to speak with them. He was in France in 1725 when the Infante was dismissed, and he had to withdraw to Spain. [Coxe, L 'Espagne sous les rois de la Maison de Bourbon, t.II, p.282, 286, 408; t.lll, p. 90-92, 96].

the difficulties which the Spaniards bring... will not contribute much to the union of the two nations. ..." The threat was direct and should have changed the mind of anyone other than a prince madly in love or dominated. The third letter, written by Monsieur de Torcy[83], specified on this subject: "As for the article of Madame la Princesse des Ursins, His Majesty... is persuaded that it will only ever be used to strengthen the union and the good correspondence between her and *Su Majestad Católica*... I believe, Sir, that you will judge that one should not alienate for trifles the people one needs for the most important affairs..." The fourth and last letter, written on October 19th, 1713, completed the explanation. "... The most pressing affair is that which concerns the sovereignty of the Princesse des Ursins. This article alone forms an invincible obstacle to Peace between the King of Spain and the Republic of Holland. The Duke d'Ossone, deceived by the advice of those who have an interest in delaying the conclusion of this Peace, flattered himself to obtain the guarantee of the Estates-General in favor of the Princesse des Ursins, and his representations, prevailed in Madrid over the opinions of the marquis de Monteleon and of the sieur d'Aubigny[84]. The affair was so badly conducted that the princess des Ursins no longer had a choice to make. She must either accept the County of Chiny or renounce her claim to sovereignty. She must just rely on the assurance that the Dutch give her not to hand over the *Catholic Netherlands* to the

83 From Louis XIV to the Marquis de Brancas, French ambassador to Spain. It was written by the minister; this letter showed more diplomacy and less impatience than those of the King. It was delivered by Torcy, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on October 9th, 1713 at the castle of Fontainebleau.

84 Jean Bouteroue, known as *d'Aubigny*. On this little-known character, who had a considerable influence on Madame des Ursins, and whose only merit was, it is said, to be her lover [at the same time as she was, possibly, the mistress of King Philippe V of Spain in spite of her 70 years of age], see the Mémoires, by Saint-Simon, édition by Boislisle, volume XI, page 243, note 5.

Archduke [of Austria] *only on this condition*. She must desist from any demand for a guarantee on their part. I do not even know if it would be possible to install her, before the Peace to be made with the Archduke, in possession of the County of Chiny, because the King of Spain has given his word to the Elector of Bavaria to let him enjoy this part of the duchy of Luxembourg as long as the war lasts, and I do not see how he will be able to renege on such a commitment. But the main thing is to make Peace with the Estates-General... I am confident that the King of Spain is too sensitive to the good of his people to prefer the second party to that of Peace. But even if he would not expose his subjects and his own Crown by continuing a war which he cannot support, I would have reason to believe that he would consider as an invincible reason for making Peace, the commitments which I have made in his name and in virtue of the powers which he has given me. Insist strongly on this last reason, which I believe to be invincible, since nothing should touch him more than the honor and the obligation to fulfill his word... As I cannot believe that the Princesse des Ursins wants war to be rekindled throughout Europe on her occasion, I will not be surprised if she herself joins you in persuading the King of Spain to do what his honor and the interest of his Crown require of him in the present situation. The disinterestedness which she would show would be glorious for her and would engage me even more to work to the Elector of Bavaria to persuade him to give up the County of Chiny now, without waiting for the conclusion of the Peace to be made with the Archduke..."

If the King of France was displeased with his grandson for allowing himself to be manipulated by the Princesse des Ursins, and thus preventing the war from ending, Queen Anne of England was not better disposed toward this woman. "The Queen of England seems hurt by this variation... [I don't know for sure if the conclusion is based on other reasons than the condition of sovereignty that must be established in favor of the Princess des Ursins, but... The uncertainty in which he[85] leaves affairs can renew the fire of war in all of Europe.

It is far from being in a position to support it, *since he cannot reduce a single rebellious city in his Kingdom*[86], and that to submit it to his obedience[87]. He asks me for help which it is impossible for me to give him[88]... I supported him during all the course of a very long and very difficult war. It would be unpleasant for me to abandon him when the principal Powers of Europe agreed with me to recognize him as legitimate King of Spain... but it would not be right to make my subjects die to satisfy only the obstinacy of the Court of Madrid[89]..."

Finally, the burning and cumbersome File of the Princesse des Ursins could only be governed by the divine Will… or by a woman! Fortunately, it was the Queen of Spain who, having died first of a fulminating cancer,

[85] It is about the King of Spain.
[86] Allusion to the siege of Barcelona, which was taken back by the Spanish King only on September 11th, 1714, and with the help of French troops. The old King of France, frustrated, becomes ironic and venomous.
[87] The biting irony of Louis XIV is clearly evident. Segment not highlighted in the original text
[88] He thus threatens him, in barely veiled terms, to abandon him to his only forces by refusing him his military help.
[89] Morel-Fatio, pp. 232-234. As for the Sun King's concern not to continue this terrible War of the Spanish Succession, it was more because his finances were totally exhausted, than to avoid shedding the innocent blood of his subjects.

allowed a new and inspired Queen to take the Spanish throne and to settle the Dossier des Ursins *in two shakes of a lamb's tail*[90], to use a trivial expression. This quick cancer took the life of the Spanish Queen, Marie-Louise de Savoie[91], on February 14th, 1714 in Madrid, at the tender age of 26. Widowed at 31, Philip V, King of Spain – who was also Prince of the Netherlands, Duke of Milan– was the first to be crowned with the title of King of Sardinia[92], King of Naples and King of Sicily[93]. Philip, in fact, remarried by proxy on August 25th, 1714, according to a ceremony long hatched by none other than the scheming *Camarera Mayor*, the Princesse des Ursins, who wished, of course, to keep this honorary and gratifying office with the new Queen.

The young bride, Élisabeth Farnese of Italy, was an energetic Parmesan, even younger than the first Queen of Spain, as she was only 22 years old. The marriage took place thanks to the active and zealous cooperation of the abbot Giulio Alberoni, ambassador of Parma in Madrid. The intriguing and eternal Princesse des Ursins, then 72 years old, thought that the new Queen, who would owe her the throne of Spain, would remain likely to be influenced and overpowered as the previous one. She was sadly mistaken. The painting of Elisabeth Farnese by the painter Ilario Spolverini, which can be consulted on the internet, shows us a tall, beautiful, energetic and determined Princess. She will prove it. The Duke de Saint-Aignan, the new

[90] Expression that would translate to "*en deux coups de cuillère à pot*."

[91] Maria Luisa Gabriela de Saboya for the Spaniards. Born in Turin under the name of Maria Luisa di Savoia.

[92] Under the name of Philip IV of Sardinia.

[93] Under the name of Philip IV of Sicili.

French ambassador in place of Brancas, went to the good city of Tarbes (Midi-Pyrénées) to welcome Élisabeth on November 27th, 1714. She was joining her husband in Spain. In Madrid, Saint-Aignan witnessed the first act of her reign: the disgrace of the old Princesse des Ursins, whom the new Queen immediately exiled[94], erasing at the same time all her ambitions to become sovereign of some Flemish or Walloon principality, and, by this very act, all obstacles to the general Peace. The rising favorite replaced without delay the descending favorite. Abbot Julio Alberoni, the new favorite, came from a gardener, while the princess des Ursins descended from Georges de La Tremoille, who, through petty jealousy, had contributed to the destruction of Joan of Arc's life.

Insensibly, Alberoni interfered, played elbows and became, without having the title, Prime Minister of the Catholic King. In 1717, he took advantage of his fame to be granted the mitre and the cardinal's purple, in order to be able to claim, simultaneously, the archbishopric of Malaga and the archbishopric of Seville, which were attributed to him by el Rey Católico.[95]. As a cardinal, he could even hope to sit in the soft cushion of the Holy See. All ambitions were open to him! But as one favorite chased the other, he was abruptly disgraced and expelled two years later in 1719, and, misery of miseries, he was pursued all the way to the Vatican by the sinister and meticulous persecutions of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Élisabeth Farnese, Queen of Spain. The Parmesan possessed all the

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[94] Coup d'État of Jadraque.

[95] Giulo Alberoni, born in Piacenza in 1664, entered the religious orders, delegated by the Duke of Parma to the Duke of Vendome in 1703; from then on he was attached to the fortune of the Maréchal and followed him during his campaign in Spain, on June 10th, 1712.

cardinal virtues except that of gratitude for those who, having done her a favor, expected some gratitude. But who in the world does service to others without expecting anything from it, even if it is only a better place in Heaven?

Alberoni succeeded in getting away from those who wanted him dead, first of all the new Queen of Spain, but also the Princesse des Ursins, herself exiled but still active in her hatred and desire for revenge until her own death, eight years later, in Rome, at the respectable age of 80. Political life in the Italian Principalties has always been most lethal to the longevity of politicians. The old Princesse des Ursins had thus been only half avenged. But let the reader of these lines be reassured, Alberoni did not sink into misery. As a potential elector of the pontiff, he could finally come in 1721 to settle in the same Eternal City, under the protection of the pope who generously entrusted him with the administration of Ravenna and Bologna, papal cities[96]. The Princesse died a year later, of deprivation and consumption, so true is it that hatred can kill the one who is afflicted by it. A wise proverb says that he who seeks revenge must dig two graves, one for his victim and the other for himself. In his case, only one would have sufficed, his own; for Alberoni's grave remained unoccupied for another thirty years[97].



[96] Lettres intimes de Jules Alberoni, adressées au comte I. Rocca, Émile Bourgeois, Paris, 1893.

[97] He was 88 years old when he died.

The signatures of the plenipotentiaries

On April 11th, 1713, everything seemed to be settled; the countries of the Grande Alliance, discouraged or encouraged by England, depending on the point of view, had given in to the despair of letting France impose her will: *a French king on the Spanish throne; the very object of this war!* They agreed to sign the first treaties which established the General Peace on legal bases. On the French side, the honor of signing the Peace Treaties fell to the Maréchal d'Huxelles and Mesnager, the only French plenipotentiaries since the Abbé de Polignac had returned to France in February 1713 to wear the cardinal's purple crowned with the *blood and gold* mitre.

The English plenipotentiaries "went on the second of March to the Hôtel de Ville of Utrecht, where those of the Allies were assembly with the *Guard of the Small Seal*[98]. The Treaties were then signed between France, England & the States-General of the United Provinces, Portugal, the Duke of Savoy, and the Elector of Brandenburg, under the conditions which the King [of France] had regulated, as can be seen in the printed copies of these Treaties. It depended on the King of Spain to conclude the Peace, at the same time with these various Powers. *All agreed to recognize him as the legitimate monarch of Spain and the Indies*.

On March 7th, 1714, was signed the *Treaty of Rastatt*, which was only a part of the Peace of Utrecht

[98] Doctor Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, Keeper of the Small Seal and Earl of Stafford.

between France and the Holy Roman Empire represented by the sovereign of Austria. It was negotiated by Maréchal de Villars for France and Prince Eugène for the Holy Roman Empire. On September 7th, 1714 another treaty was initialed, the Treaty of Baden[99] between Louis XIV and the Emperor of the Holy Roman-Germanic Empire, which extended the decisions of the Treaty of Rastatt to all German states. By this Treaty of Baden, France kept Alsace. As for the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, they kept all their sovereignty, which was a great victory for the French.

On June 28th, 1714, the Treaty of Peace between Philip V of Spain and Holland was signed. Louis XIV wanted to see his grandson conclude a definitive peace with the Emperor, but without result. With regard to Spain, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, indomitable, kept the title of King of Spain without having the function, as the kings of England, inconsolable until the Peace of Amiens (1802), had kept the title of King of France since the Hundred Years' War which they had lost, that is to say since the middle of the 15th century.

As for the United Provinces (Holland) and their specific demands for the security of the Spanish Netherlands, which had become "*Austrian*", Louis XIV, who had let them languish for a long time, finally granted them his adhesion by a special treaty concluded on April 11th, 1713, the Treaty of Antwerp, which momentarily settled the problem of the strategic Barrier; for everything can only be momentary and provisional between monarchs whose only moral rule is brute force. "It is thus agreed that no

[99] *Bade* in the Swiss canton of Argovia.

province, city, fort or place of the said Spanish Netherlands... may fall to the Crown of France, nor to any prince or princess of the House or Line of France, either by virtue of any gift, sale, exchange, matrimonial agreement, succession by will or *ab intestat*[100], or under any other title whatsoever, nor be put, from time to time in any way whatsoever, to the Power... of any prince or princess of the House or Line of France[101] '."

Consequences of this War

And so ended the War of the Spanish Succession. The Allies, although still in the majority, had lost in a short time all that they had gained since 1702, because the morale was no longer there, and an army has no chance if it loses the morale. The generalissimo of the allied armies during the First World War, the Frenchman Ferdinand Foch, summed up this concept as follows: "Ninety thousand defeated men withdraw before ninety thousand victors, only because they no longer want it, and they no longer want it because they are demoralized, at the end of their moral resistance." This made Joseph de Maistre[102] say: "A lost battle is a battle that one believes one has lost, because a battle is not materially lost." Consequently, it is morally that it is lost. But... a battle won is a battle in which one does not want to admit defeat. The word battle can be replaced by the word war. "On this capital importance of morale in war,... Let us simply remember Colonel

100 In absence of a will.
101 This is article 14 of the Treaty of Utrecht, quoted by Raxis in Actes et mémoires.
102 Barthelet, Philippe, Joseph de Maistre, Dossier H, L'Age d'Homme, 2005

Bugeaud who, in his account of the battle of Arly[103], shows us the enemy in flight without having fired a single shot at him, but because we are advancing. O moral power, you are the Queen of Arms!" he concludes. "The demoralization [of the enemy], says general Cardot, is the final end, the efficient cause and the true explanation of success. The decisive victory, the true victory, is the moral victory.

The War of Spanish Succession ended thus. The Allied soldiers, demoralized by the defection of the English, suffered defeat after defeat during the last three military campaigns, in spite of their numerical superiority. For the French it was, of course, the other way around: they were once again the favorites of the Goddess Victory. The French were thus able to hold Alsace; they only gave back a few secondary places on the right bank of the Rhine; the German bank. Spain lost Gibraltar and Minorca that England wanted to keep, even if these two places had been conquered by German troops (mercenaries) of the Holy Empire.

In compensation for the Spanish Crown, which was definitively lost to Austria, Spain offered the Habsburgs its Italian possessions: Sardinia, Campania in Naples, Milan, the prefectures of Tuscany[104], as well as Flanders. Thus the Spanish soldiers, so long exiled in the distant Flemish garrisons[105], were able to return to their

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[103] Fight of the First Empire against the Austro-Hungarians. 1813-1815. The two villages of Haute-Savoie, separated by the Val d'Arly, site of the battle, merged under the name of Albertville. The city was the site of the 1992 Winter Olympics.

[104] The presidiums were the Spanish strongholds.

[105] The Netherlands (including present-day Belgium and the Netherlands) became Spanish under Charles V, born in Ghent in 1500. He inherited the Habsburgs (from the Holy Roman Empire) and the Spanish Crown. In 1581, the seven northern provinces, mostly Protestant, broke away from the whole to form the United Provinces (present-day Holland). The ten southern (Catholic) provinces

beloved Andalusia, and no longer felt the need to sing their sad nostalgic laments called "Los Flamencos," the Flemish songs. The Spanish gypsies adopted these melodic laments in order to make the four winds vibrate on summer evenings, for the greatest pleasure of the spirit.

The human losses of the whole of this War of Spanish Succession reached 600,000 soldiers, disregarding the civilian losses, which were even more numerous[106]. To this figure must be added at least the equivalent for the losses by disease. It is, therefore, of almost two million dead that those who started the War of the Spanish Succession are responsible. To determine the number of wounded and disabled, we must multiply this number by five, or 10,000,000.

Tactically speaking, the totality of the battles and sieges of the War of the Spanish Succession presents a relatively positive military balance sheet in favor of the French, if we disregard the strategic and moral aspect which includes the abandonment of the Acadians, the abandonment of the French-speaking populations of Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay fur trade posts. In total, considering only the strictly tactical aspect, out of 84 battles and sieges, the French won 46 victories (55%) and the Anglo-Allies 33 (39%). Five battles remained unresolved (6%). However, the four major mass battles[107] (Allies

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remained under Spanish control until 1714, when they became the Austrian Netherlands, and, in the XIX Century, the Kingdom of Belgium.

[106] Figures taken from Urlanis, B., Wars and Population, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p.45.

[107] Blenheim 1704, Ramillies 1706, Oudenarde 1708, Malplaquet 1709; all allied victories.

victories), had a greater impact on the course of the war than the nine French victories[108].

As for the public debt, England had accumulated a prodigious debt to fuel the war during the first ten years. To avoid forcing the English nobility and bourgeoisie to pay taxes, despite the fact that these two social classes were the great beneficiaries of this war and became considerably richer thanks to all the commercial advantages obtained and in particular to the slave trade to Spanish America which they obtained for thirty years.

Until 1744, the English Parliament, now dominated by the Whigs since the death of Queen Anne, created *lotteries* to compensate for the lack of income tax. Thus, it was essentially the little people, who were very fond of these games of chance, who paid the public debt by buying these lottery tickets, inexhaustible sources of dreams of wealth. What else could they do but to think of wealth, in those egoistic times when national solidarity did not exist? The English Merchant Lobbies got away with untold commercial and material advantages, colonies to exploit, and the fruitful Slave Trade that brought billions of guineas into the coffers of the Bank of England founded 20 years earlier by private interests, as well as millions of slaves from the Gulf of Guinea to the plantations of Latin America and North America. So much so that a new gold currency, *the guinea*, was created at that time by the *Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*[109], because along with the slave's

[108] Cranenburg 1702, Friedlingen 1702, Spire 1703, Almansa 1707, Villaviciosa 1710, Denain 1712, and the three naval battles: Santa-Marta 1702, Velez-Malaga 1704, Beachy-Head 1707 and Vigo 1702; all of them victorious for the French, except Vigo.

[109] Nickname of the Bank of England, because of its London address.

gold was also discovered in that part of Africa. But all things come to an end, and when the fateful date of the end of the 30 years Slave Trade approached, the London Merchant Lobbies, always fertile in ideas, began to devise a pretext to declare war on Spain in order to force Spain to grant the London Merchant Lobbies the freedom of the Asiento des Negros for ever.

The pretext to this new war was the fraud of an English slave trader. Slave traders had to pay a tax to the Spanish tax authorities for each slave or imported commodity. But of course, as one can imagine, they were cheating. Wasn't the mythological *God of the Merchants*, Hermes, the same as the God of Thieves? In 1731, the Spanish Coast Guard arrested a fraudster named Robert Jenkins. The man resisted[110], and, in the ensuing scuffle, the ear of the English captain was cut off with a knife. Seven years later, in 1738, the English Government, driven by the lobbyist efforts to create a pretext for war with Spain, set up a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry to make a fuss about the incident in order to create a diplomatic crisis with the aim of starting a war. Robert Jenkins displayed his carefully preserved piece of ear in a jar of rum. Shocking! The English parliamentarians were thus able to declare to Spain the Guerra del Asiento de Negros,

[110] On April 9th, 1731, the Spanish customs sloop San-Antonio, commanded by Captain Juan Francisco de Leon Fandino, intercepted the English smuggling brig REBECCA, commanded by Captain Robert Jenkins, off Havana. The Spanish customs officers wanted to check the logbooks but Jenkins objected. Needless to say, this refusal seemed suspicious to the Spaniards. The inspection was carried out by force and a certain amount of prohibited merchandise was found in the cargo, in contravention of the Treaty of Utrecht. Furious, Jenkins insulted the Spaniard, claiming that he was a British subject and that his King was protecting him. The Spaniard replied that "If the King of England himself violated Spanish law, he would suffer the same fate. Besides, Jenkins got mad and a fight took place in which the English got the better of him. Jenkins himself had a piece of his ear cut off by a Spanish knife. The forbidden cargo was confiscated. Jenkins kept his ear piece as proof of the customs officers' muscular intervention.

which the English, wishing to explain away the unseemly reason for it, nowadays call *the War of Jenkins' Ear* with a childish name. This war was confused from 1740 with the War of the Austrian Succession and ended with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. But England, which lost this war, could only recuperate for its Slave Trade the four years lost because of the hostilities[111].

Wars, simple commercial games for financiers, are the despair of the people because there are two kinds of participants: those who die, and those who get rich. And in this case, the enslaved people were the first victims.



As for the fate of the various Tory actors who had led England to defect to her Allies during the War of the Spanish Succession, the Marechal of Berwick, a Catholic, refugee in France, wrote in his Mémoires[112]: "At the beginning of the year 1715, milord Bolingbroke [Henry St. John]... fled to France under the accusation of high

[111] The War of Jenkins' Ear or Guerra del Asiento de Negros ended with the Peace of Aachen in 1748. It was merged with the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). Article XVI of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle between Spain and England emphasized: "The Treaty of the Asiento for the Negro trade, signed at Madrid on March 26th, 1713, and Particle of the Annual Vessel, forming part of the said Treaty, are specially confirmed by the present Treaty, for the four years during which the enjoyment of them has been interrupted since the commencement of the present war; and shall be executed on the same footing and under the same conditions as they were or ought to have been executed prior to the said war. " As England had lost the war, the Asiento was not renewed in favor of its merchants, but Louis XV of France, by absurd favor, granted them all the same to recover the four years during which the war had interrupted the Slave Trade.

[112] *Mémoires du maréchal de Berwick,* écrits par lui-même; avec une suite abrégée depuis 1716, jusqu'à sa mort en 1734; précédés de son portrait, par Milord Bolingbroke, & d'une ébauche d'Éloge historique, par le Président de Montesquieu; terminés par des Notes & des Lettres servant de pièces justificatives pour la campagne de 1708, Chez Moutard, à Paris, 1780.

treason. On his arrival in Paris, I saw him in secret, and he confirmed to me the good disposition of affairs in England. But, not believing that he should be publicly involved in the affairs of the young king, he withdrew to Lyon, from where, after a few months, our friends ordered him to return to Paris, which he did, and then we acted in concert in all things. Everything can be explained. At the time of Bolingbroke's visit to Paris, the *Bill of Attainder*[113] had not been delivered. It was only in the first days of August that Walpole[114] came, in the name of the Commission of Enquiry, to bring before the House of Lords his formidable accusations[115]. It is easy to see why Bolingbroke was so cautious and why he withdrew to Saint-Clair, near Vienne [in Isère, France], on the left bank of the Rhône.

James Butler, 2nd Duke of Ormond was himself driven out of Government in 1715 by the new king of England, George 1st of German birth. He fled to France, and, suddenly struck by divine grace, became an ardent Jacobite Catholic[116]. He died in exile in Spain[117].

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[113] In English law, a bill of attainder (or Bill of Attainder, or Act of Attainder, or Writ of Attainder) is a legislative act that finds a person or group of persons guilty of a crime and punishes them without trial. The United States Constitution prohibits bills of attainder.

[114] Hill, Brian W., Sir Robert Walpole : Sole et Prime ministre, Hamish Hamilton, Londres, 1989.

[115] Oxford, Robert Harley, Earl of, Articles of accusation of high treason of other great crimes, & of malversation against Robert Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. As the House of Commons ... presented them to the House of Peers: July 20th. 1715. To which have been added the charges against James Due of Ormond and Henry Viscount Bolingbroke. Translated from Tanglois and published by Henri Scheurleer, in The Hague, 1715.

[116] "The English exiles in France were Catholic, so it was better to be Catholic to be admitted into this milieu. One can appreciate the great adaptability of English politicians in the religious field.

[117] Dictionary of National Biography and Dalton, C, British Army Lists and Commissions Registers, Londres 1898-1904, 6 volumes. A clause in the Treaty of Utrecht required that Catholic refugees in France be expelled.

Humans, curiously, prefer earthly exile with all its trying uncertainties, to the uncertainties of Eternal Life, which he could have achieved by remaining in England. "Their enemies in credit with the new Sovereign, and breathing only vengeance, persecuted those whom Queen Anne had employed in the pacification of Europe, and some of them had no other recompense for the good they procured to their Fatherland, than of being banished from it and treated as criminals[1]. They were accused of secret transactions in favor of the [Old] Pretender[2], of whom they had spoken only to ask that he be obliged to leave France, as an essential condition for Peace. In the absence of proof of so serious an accusation against England, the *delators* [informers and sycophants] were obliged to say that in the search they had made of the Letters and Papers of which they were the masters, the proofs of the secret negotiations in favor of the Pretender were lacking, and according to the expressions of the Secret Committee, "were not found in the great number of volumes, books and papers which they visited and examined[3]."

Thus, the drama being played out, the other principal actors quickly left the stage to join the crowds of dead and handicapped, which their madness had brought about.

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[1] Bolinbroke " fut démis de ses fonctions (en août 1714) ... alarmé par l'intention évidente des Whigs de le poursuivre jusqu'à l'échafaud, il s'enfuit en France. "Correspondance de D'Iberville, The English Historical Review, Oxford, 1937, p. 673.

[2] The Pretender is the Catholic Stuart refugee in France. In 1688, the Catholic King James II of England and Ireland and James VII of Scotland (1633-1701) who had been ruling since 1685 was destroyed by a coup d'état, called by historians the Glorious Revolution, led by the Protestant Dutch army and more than 3,000 French Huguenots. Many Catholics fled to France. Historians estimate that 40,000 Jacobite refugees emigrated to France after the Glorious Protestant Revolution, of whom about 60% were Irish, 34% English and 6% Scottish. Of these, 40% were from aristocratic families. James II lived in exile in France. So did his son James III, James Francis Stuart, also known as the Knight of St. George or "the Old Pretender".

[3] Torcy, Vol. III, Part III, pp.72-73.

Queen Anne Stuart of England died on August 1st, 1714, presumably poisoned like her sixteen children; Louis XIV on September 1st, 1715, and seven years later the Duke of Marlborough joined them in the Heavenly Afterlife to which everyone aspired, but without the slightest impatience. The Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph 1st of Habsburg, had preceded them in leaving Vienna and this land in 1711, and his brother had become his successor, Charles VI, at the head of the Holy Roman Empire, which the Germans considered their First Reich[4].

Every country in the Grande Alliance, with the exception of France and England, felt that they had been mystified and deceived. The plenipotentiaries tried to guess what had precisely happened between France and England, but the secret remained mostly hidden. It is still well kept today thanks to the spontaneous complicity of English historians who, out of patriotism, totally ignore this unflattering historical fact[5]. A single Englishman, and not the least of these, Sir Winston Churchill, a descendant of the illustrious Marlborough-Churchill, mentioned this treason in the biography of his ancestor. And this was not for the sake of historical authenticity or British History, but for the honor of his ancestor, who had been charged

[4] The 2nd Reich, the one that generated the First World War, was created in Versailles in 1871 and the 3rd Reich was Hitler's Reich of sad memory.

[5]. As they also ignore the Opium Wars, the ethnic cleansing in the Scottish Highlands, Ireland, Acadia, Newfoundland, the Canadian and American Prairies, Tasmania, the Slave Trade is minimized... According to an interview conducted with Francois Poirier, a French historian and researcher at the British Library, in February 2007 by Carole Trebor, historian and journalist, ARTE collaborator, to the question: "Are there any taboos left in the History of England? The answer was: "Social pressure leads to a lack of questioning of certain facts. It is certain that books tracing the crimes of the past are repressed by British publishers who publish twice as many titles as American publishers; this perpetuates this historical omerta and allows the English to feel the pride of their History which they do not really know.

with embezzlement to explain his dismissal. Of course, seeing the immense advantages that England had obtained, the other Allies of the Grande Alliance could guess that this country had acted in an unavoidable way, but most of the documents that could have been used as proof had been systematically destroyed by the English diplomats who were probably not very proud of this feat, and who knew that the next king would bring them to justice or before a Court Martial for high treason[6];… behind closed doors so as not to sully the honor of the country. Thus, it was not until the *Mémoires de Torcy*[7] that the Dutch, Austrians, Portuguese, Spaniards and Germans –all the nations in the coalition that the Grande Alliance formed against France– could learn the final word on the matter.

At the Congress of Utrecht, everyone had tried to find an honorable way out. Philip V kept the throne of Spain. However, he had to renounce, for him and for his descendants, the throne of France, even in the case where the other princes of the French blood would disappear. In the same way, France (of Louis XIV) kept all the European colonial conquests, which eventually became today's France.[8]. But in America, it ceded our ill-fated Acadia, Newfoundland and Hudson Bay, which had been conquered at swordpoint by the Canadians. Some historians have argued that Acadia was already in English hands and that it was not an abandonment. Although the settlement was already in English hands, the French king could have

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[6] Oxford, Robert Harley, see higher.

[7] Colbert , Jean-Baptiste (marquis de Torcy), Memoires de Monsieur de Torcy, pour servir a I'histoire des negociations depuis le traite de Rysuryck [Ryswick] jusqu'd la paix d'Utrecht, Nourse & Vaillant , Printer, London, 1757. 3 vols.

[8] Many provinces such as French Flanders, Roussillon, Lille, Artois, Franche-Comté, Alsace.

demanded its return if he really wanted to, just as he negotiated the return of the sugar islands of the West Indies when they fell into the enemy's hands. But nothing was done. Canada itself, which fell in 1763, could have been recovered by France as a result of the American Revolution, but Louis XVI rejected it, for reasons of bad strategy[9], while this eventuality terrorized the English negotiators. As for the *Grande Louisiane*, it was simply ceded to Spain without any serious reason. This first French colonial empire was already burning the fingers of the French.

Louis XIV recognized the rights of George I[st] to the English throne and pledged not to support the exiled Stuarts. France returned to Germany the cities of Brisach, Freiburg and Kehl, but the Habsburgs *had to renounce* the crown of Spain and the Americas, and return their *Hereditary States* to the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, friends of France. The Elector of Brandenburg was recognized as the King of Prussia to the great misfortune of Europe, but this is a long and sad story that will reach its climax in the XX century. The power of the Habsburgs was, in the end, very shaky. In 1738 they ceded Naples and Sicily to Charles III of Spain, son of Philip V, during the War of Polish Succession. The slave traders of various countries lost for several decades the monopoly of the *Asiento* or *Slave Trade*, which was granted exclusively to England in the framework of the bribe. Savoy, then an autonomous duchy, recovered for a few more years the territory now occupied by the French, as well as Sicily, which this

[9] Foreseeing that, sooner or later, his Ally (the United States) would become powerful, and therefore a rival to France, Louis XVI allowed England to keep possession of Canada in order to thwart the future American power. It was really a poor strategic vision of the world

country exchanged for Sardinia with the Emperor. On the other hand, the Duke of Savoy ceded the valley of Barcelonnette to France. The United Provinces obtained the right to erect a series of eight fortresses (Veurne, Ypres, Menin, Tournai, Mons, Charleroi, Namur and Ghent), as strategic Barrier (or Fortified Line) against France, defended by Dutch garrisons, on the French border in the now Austrian Netherlands. Despite the fact that it was soldiers of the Holy Roman Empire who had conquered two strategic strongholds in the Mediterranean (Gibraltar and Menorca, in the Balearic Islands), England was allowed by the King of Spain at the request of the King of France, to keep them for its own use, again as part of the baksheesh. *Article 10* of the Treaty of Utrecht, between Spain and England, states[10]: "The Catholic King, in his own name and that of his heirs and successors, hereby cedes to the Crown of Great Britain the full and entire ownership of the city and castles of *Gibraltar*, jointly to its port, defenses and fortresses which belong to it, giving the said property absolutely so that it may have and enjoy it by right and forever, without exception or any impediment." The expressions of the legists "absolutely... by right... for all time... without exception or any impediment..." were only classical and customary turns of phrase that had only a momentary use, until the next War.

Thus, at the beginning of the next War, the French took back the *island of Minorca* from the English and gave it back to the Spaniards. In Gibraltar, even though cross-

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[10] The Treaty of Utrecht was drawn up in the language of the various fighting nations, but a Latin version served as a source in case of dispute.

border trade was forbidden, the garrison could buy food, provisions and other necessities from Spain for the presidium's troops, the inhabitants or the ships anchored in the port. But for any goods smuggled into Spain through Gibraltar, the culprits were severely punished. "Her Britannic Majesty, at the instance of the Catholic King, consents and agrees that it is not permitted for any reason that Jews or Moors should dwell or have a domicile in the said City of Gibraltar, nor that Moorish ships of War should be allowed to enter or be entertained in the port of the said City, as the communication between Spain and Ceuta might be cut off or the Spanish coasts infested with Moorish privateers[11]." As for the Catholic religion, "Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain also promises that the inhabitants of the said City of Gibraltar shall be granted the free practice of the Roman Catholic Religion. And if England should ever decide to sell this strategic point, "it is agreed and granted by this Treaty that the Crown of Spain shall be given priority over others to redeem it. *Article 11* concerned Minorca: "Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain further undertakes that all the inhabitants of the said island, both ecclesiastics and laymen, shall in Peace and safety enjoy all their possessions in all honor, and the free practice of the Roman Catholic religion shall be permitted, and measures shall be taken for the preservation of the said religion in the said island, provided it be consistent with

[11] The coastal villages of Europe were at that time continuously attacked by North African corsairs in order to supply the Muslim nobility and bourgeoisie and their harems with European slaves. In total, in a few centuries, a million Europeans would have been enslaved in this way. Those who would like to know more about this little-known subject can read with great interest Giles Milton's work, White Gold; The Extraordinary Story of Thomas Pellow and North Africa's One Million European Slaves, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 2004. The French title, which is less sensationalist, is Captifs en Barharie, L'histoire extraordinaire des esclaves europeens en terre dTslam, Noir & Blanc, Paris, 2004.

the civil Government and laws of Great Britain[12]..." The same as in Canada, 50 years later, religious freedom was granted without any guarantee, despite the appearances, because "the laws of Great Britain" were subject to the *Test Act*, which reduced the Catholics and Jews to the state of subhuman.

The War of the Spanish Succession marked a profound change in the balance of power between the European powers. Britain emerged as one of the major powers in Europe, not as a great military power on land, since it participated only symbolically on ground operations if one considers the blood shed by soldiers of English birth, but it took a leading position in the financial and diplomatic field, and its enormous financial participation allowed it to take the lead in this coalition and subsequent alliances against France. The money invested in this War paid off a hundredfold, for, through the Treaty of Utrecht, England became the world's leading slave-owning and trading nation. *It was in this War that the nasty nickname of Perfide*

[12] Thus, Menorca became English for 42 years, since in 1755, in the middle of the Peace, by order of the British Admiralty of July, Vice Admiral Hawke, who commanded the Royal Navy in the Mediterranean, began a naval campaign against the French merchant ships that were trading in the Mediterranean. The catches were towed to Port-Mahon in Minorca, where the English cruisers also took refuge. The aim was, of course, to undermine French trade in that sea. These actions began several months before the declaration of War. It was the last straw that broke out the *Seven Years' War*, the outcome of which was so horrible for us Canadians. On April 18th, a French army landed on the island to lay siege to the strong fortifications of Port-Mahon which housed the English garrison and the French holdings. A month later, on May 17th, England declared War on France. The announcement of the English declaration of War was synchronized with a general offensive of the English Mediterranean fleet, which immediately attacked the French fleet covering the siege. On May 20th, 1756, the famous *naval battle of Port-Mahon* took place off the coast of Port-Mahon, from which the defeated English fled to Gibraltar. As a result of this defeat, the English admiral John Byng was court-martialed and shot. The English garrison, witnessing this naval defeat of the Royal Navy, surrendered to the French. The English lost the island of Minorca which was handed over to the Spanish by the French. The *Treaty of Paris* (1763) returned the island to England. In 1782, during the *American War of Independence*, the French took again the island from the English and gave it back to the Spanish. But in 1798, during the *French Revolutionary Wars*, the English took the island back from the Spanish, but by the *Treaty of Amiens* in 1802, the French demanded that the island be returned to Spain.

Albion was coined for England. France remained the first military power on the continent, the largest, and still the most populous with twenty million inhabitants. Its colonial ensemble remained (for the moment) more important than that of England.

But both "victorious" nations lost their honor; the French by abandoning to their sad fate the Acadians who wanted so much to remain French, and who underwent from the English the worst turns of which the ethnic cleansing of their country[13]. The English also lost their honor by allowing themselves to be corrupted by material goods and by betraying their brothers in arms, the Dutch, the Imperials, but also —and above all— the Catalans, the only "Spaniards" who had deliberately and jointly chosen the English side, to whom London had repeatedly promised that the English would never let them down and that they would have a dominant role in the Spain of King Charles III. They were, like the Acadians, abandoned… Worse, faced with the agitation of the Catalans who refused their fate and appealed to the English, the new king of Spain asked the Queen of England to enforce the Treaty and its clause of evacuation from Spain. He demanded that the English Government "*order a Royal Navy squadron to force these subjects into obedience and thereby complete the tranquility of Spain and the Mediterranean trade*. The reference to Mediterranean trade —which could be disrupted to England's detriment— had an immediate effect on the London Merchant Lobbies who directed English

[13] Forty years later, the Acadian people were deported *en masse* because they refused to take an oath of allegiance to the English Crown, so as not to be forced to bear arms against France in the event of War. O beautiful and unfaithful France!

policy. A fleet was dispatched at once to subdue those troublesome Catalans, too prone to sentimentality. Its mission was to force Barcelona to surrender, by force if necessary. But the French troops avoided this disappointing action by coming themselves to lay siege to Barcelona, and the House of Lords was able to recall the English fleet.

The desperate siege lasted another year. The Catalans, unaware of the threatening movements of the Royal Navy, sent several appeals for help to England, which had, during the War, issued many declarations of friendship guaranteeing its support to Catalonia. But the game had changed; the annoying and embarrassing appeals were ignored. The Barcelonans continued their hopeless struggle under the 14,000 French bombs that crushed their ruined houses[14] . Finally, on September 11st, 1714, Barcelona[15] was taken by the French troops. Horrific and cruel battles continued in the streets. Catalonia lost not only the hope of autonomy that the English had offered, but also the political privileges that this Spanish Province had previously enjoyed, which it did not regain until the end of the twentieth century, after the disappearance of General Francisco Franco and thanks to the Bourbon King, Juan Carlos Ist. "When England first opened a separate chapter in the History of Catalonia, the Catalan government was to be the only one that had the power to control the country.

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14 "When England first opened a separate negociation for peace, she might easily have secured the Catalonian liberties by making their recognition an indispensable preliminary for peace; but, instead of this, the English ministers began by recognising the title of Philip, and contented themselves with a simple prayer that a general amnesty might be granted." William Edgard Hartpole Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, Second Edition, Volume 1, Longmans, Green & CO, London 1879, p.125

15 That never surrendered.

For various reasons, the English did not dare to celebrate the outcome of the War of the Spanish Succession ostensibly. Of course, the financiers of the London Merchant Lobbies had gained immense advantages, and, therefore, in honor of such a successful war, they could, in the secrecy of their residences, propose a toast with the Champagne of the monk Dom Perignon[16], who also, precisely, died that year. As we said above, the actors of this Secret Treaty of Utrecht were first rewarded by Queen Anne, then punished by King George I[st].

If the Acadian populations had only their eyes to cry, as well as the mothers, the wives and the orphans of the soldiers who were kild, everywhere, in the rest of France, the population, indifferent to their misery, celebrated the victory and especially the Peace. The abbot Jean-Baptiste Morvan de Bellegarde composed a magnificent *Éloge historique du Roi sur la conclusion de la Paix générale*[17]. Public dances were held to celebrate the French victories and especially the Peace. During a grand ball given at Suresnes on May 21[st], 1713, by His Serene Highness the Elector of Bavaria, lively paintings represented: *The magnificence, followed by the God of Love and the God of the Trellis, which presided over this brilliant feast which brought together part of the court and part of the city under the peasant mask. But what makes both more famous is the abundance with which this illustrious Prince spreads these favors, which all conspire together to give*

[16] Dom Perignon died in 1715 at the age of 78, which proves, if necessary, that Champagne wine is a guarantee of longevity.
[17] Abbé Jean-Baptiste Morvan de Bellegarde, Éloge historique du Roi sur la conclusion de la Paix générale, J. Collombat, Paris, 1714.

him an eternal stay in the hearts[18]. You think you're dreaming when you finally understand this nonsense! Who, in this intoxication, in this general dizziness, was thinking of the Acadians, of the hundreds of thousands of orphans and widows who were mourning their dead? Artists were engraving prints to the glory of the Sun King and his long and victorious reign[19], which had almost collapse with a bang like the hollow statue of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad under the weight of American tanks in 2003.

When Louis XIV died in 1715, he left the French to pay off his enormous debts. But the kingdom of France was enlarged by Alsace, Roussillon, Lille, and Dunkirk. The reign of seventy-two years had been positive overall.

At Utrecht, Prussia and Piedmont were established as kingdoms, while the treaty sanctioned the collapse of the economic power of the United Provinces and the perpetual exclusion of the House of Austria from the possession of the Spanish Empire. In these regions, the true victors of the War of the Spanish Succession were not celebrated, any more than in Acadia or Catalonia. As for the

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[18] Print of the Ball given in Suresne the XXI day of May M.DCCXHI by his Sérénissime Highness Monseigneur L'Électeur de Bavière. The magnificence of the God of Love and of the God of the Trellis presides of intelligence to this brilliant festivity, which assembles part of the court and part of the city under the peasant mask. But what makes both more famous is the abundance with which this illustrious Prince spreads these favors, which all conspire to give him an eternal stay in the hearts published by Jacques Langlois, sur le petit Pont, a la Coupe d'Or, Paris, 1713.

[19] Estampe de la France victorieuse en 1712, par les avantages remportez au Camp de Denain Et la réduction des places de Marchienne, St. Amand, Doüay, le Quesnoy, Bouchain et autres, sous le Commandement de Mr le Maréchal de Villars, publiée Chez François Gérard Jollain, rue Saint Iacques à l'Enfant Jésus, Paris, 1713, ou Estampe representant Les Heureux présages de la Paix, Fondez sur la Suspension d' Armes, Entre la France et l'Angleterre Ratifiée par le Roy le 21 . Aoust et publiée à Paris le 24. Aoust 1712, publiée chez Gérard Jollain, à Paris, 1712, ou estampe intitulée La Paix réunit les coeurs des rois et relève l'Esperance des Peuples, 1713, Adorable changement! C'est vraiment l'ouvrage du Très-Haut. Psaume 76 Verset 1 1, publiée Chez Gabrielle Landry, rue Saint Jacques à Saint Landry. (The verse can't be found.)

city of Dunkirk[20], France eventually refused to demilitarize it completely. Spain, for its part, was judged as follows: "The kingdom of Spain, since the Duke of Anjou ascended the throne... has begun to recover from the great decadence into which it had fallen since the Peace of Vervins, under its last three kings... Spain has provided more troops than she had done before for fifty years[21]." Spain had definitively cut its two centuries of family ties with Austria, and the French were getting what they had sought all along, *a Frenchman on the Spanish throne to avoid a strategic encirclement*.

For us Canadians –and today's Québécois–, the Treaty of Utrecht marked the beginning of the end of New France. The extent to which the farsighted French monarchy began to place North America at the bottom of its concerns was evident, culminating in France's failure to send sufficient troops to the region. It was the first time that the French had been able to muster enough soldiers to guard a territory equal in size to Europe and twice as large as the Roman Empire[22]. The short-sighted Sun King had deliberately sacrificed the valiant but distant Acadian people to

[20] The city had been taken from the Spaniards by Turenne and given to the English to pay for the troops they were renting from France [1658]. At the time of the War of the Spanish Succession, Louis XIV had just bought it in 1662 from the English king Charles II, and the English wanted it back. On July 19, 1712, the English garrison of 5000 men under Major Hill arrived. Departure of the French garrison of Count de L'Omont. The English occupied Fort Louis, which was destroyed in 1714. In 1713, construction by the English of a cofferdam [a temporary dam allowing to work below sea level] cutting off the jetees and Tentree from the port. On August 20, 1714, departure of the English garrison from Dunkirk. Only two commissioners remain in Dunkirk, Colonel Abercrombie and Tingenieur Lascelles. Dunkirk became French again. In 1722, the war port of Dunkirk was rebuilt and enlarged after its demolition.

[21] Actes et mémoires touchant la paix d'Utrecht, in Rousset de Missy, Jean, Recueil historique d'actes, négotiations, mémoires et traitez, depuis la paix d'Utrecht jusqu'au second congrès de Cambray inclusivement, H. Scheurleer, La Haye, 1728-1754. (21 tomes) t. l, p.173.

[22] The Roman Empire covered an area of just over 5,000,000 km at its greatest extent, under the protection of 300,000 soldiers. Modern Canada totals 10,000,000 km^2.

save his face in Europe as a pretentious old King. But strategically speaking, by giving away Newfoundland and Acadia, the gates of New France remained wide open and largely undefended. The control of the Gulf and the St. Lawrence estuary would become problematic. Only the fortress of Louisbourg remained in place, a real lock on New France that was bound to blow up if the king of France did not provide it with a strong garrison. He didn't do it, neither he nor his successors. New France would become an easy prey for the cunning English who, after a failed attempt during the War of the Austrian Succession, would, during the Seven Years' War, launch against France the young and powerful Prussia like a terrible German shepherd to occupy the French army on the European continent, while it would seize New France unsupported by the mother country.

Of course, England had betrayed all her allies for her own profit, but she was able to conceal her treachery, and in any case, faced with threatening France, the European countries had no choice but to unite at all costs, And twenty-five years later we will see the same Austria with its long robe of the Holy Roman Empire and the same Holland, which, in order to face France, will again fall under the sway of the English guineas, those golden guineas, the fruit of slavery from the Gulf of Guinea. And again thousands of German mercenaries will come to fight for the British Empire for the greatest enrichment of the Princes-Electors of the Holy Empire who were trading in them[23].

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[23] Even today, in the 21st century, in Iraq as everywhere, the difficulties of recruiting English soldiers are such that the English army recruits in Nepal. It is no longer the Germans but the Nepalese Gurkas who constitute the mercenary troops of England. The Information Services of the army never

And this Holland and this Austria will be betrayed again, because, once more Albion in bad position against France will come to negotiate secretly with the French, and will know again how to take advantage of the game with mastery, in a perfidious way certainly but quite magnificent. This will be the War of the Austrian Succession. But let us not anticipate![24]



put them in front of the cameras to avoid creating unnecessary polemics. Until 2009, these efficient soldiers were discreetly sent back to Nepal when they reached the age of retirement or when they were injured.

24

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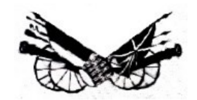


Table of Contents





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"Perfidious Albion": did we ever wonder where this cruel nickname of England came from? The English wrongly attribute it to the French! In fact, this country was given this vindictive nickname by England's own Allies at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession: the Germans, the Dutch, and the Austrians.

In 1710, France, which was fighting against the whole of Europe, to impose a Frenchman on the throne of the Spanish Empire, was on the verge of succumbing and being dismembered. So, the French bribed England into abandoning its Allies on all battlefields and to stop subsidising and funding the war against the French.

This monographic research aims to objectively reveal this unusual diplomatic adventure that allowed France and England to emerge victoriously from the War of Spanish Succession.

